ÉDITION DE LUXE

GREAT RACES OF MANKIND

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ETHNIC ORIGIN, PRIMITIVE ESTATE, EARLY MIGRATIONS, SOCIAL EVOLUTION, AND PRESENT CONDITIONS AND PROMISE OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES OF MEN

TOGETHER WITH A PRELIMINARY INQUIRY ON THE TIME, PLACE AND MANNER OF THE BEGINNING

COMPLETE IN EIGHT VOLUMES

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AUTHOR OF A "CYCLOPÆDIA OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY," ETC.

VOLUME III

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED WITH COLORED PLATES, RACE MAPS AND CHARTS, TYPE PICTURES, SKETCHES AND DIAGRAMS

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Preface to Volume III.

IN everything relating to progress and civilization the Aryan, or Indo-European, races have far surpassed the other divisions of mankind. It were not easy to exaggerate the precedence and superiority of these races in history. Perhaps our point of view among the outspreading branches of Aryanism in the New World may prejudice us to a certain extent respecting the rank and accomplishment of that family of the Ruddy races to which we belong. Without doubt we underestimate the achievements and intellectual force of the Oriental peoples; but, after all allowance for such error has been made, we must still admit the striking ascendency of the Aryan races over all other branches of the human family.

This ascendency relates to nearly every phase and fact of civilization. It is to men of the Aryan race that we owe the conquest over nature. The place of man in the world is now fixed by his triumph over natural forces, by his knowledge of phenomena, and by his ability to apply that knowledge in the subordination and direction of material nature. In that order, of which we constitute a part, there are two principal facts—man and nature. The one must prevail over the other. There can hardly be a divided sovereignty. There can be no equipoise between the intellectual forces which proceed from man and the material energies with which he is surrounded until the one or the other have triumphed.

Antiquity gave the mastery to nature. For ages man, in the presence of nature, cowered and shrank away. Neither the Brown nor the Black races of mankind have ever sought to place the human mind in an ascendency over nature. Neither the Semites nor the Hamites —though each possessed remarkable elements of strength—ever attempted the conquest of the natural world. It remained for men of unmixed Aryan derivation to go against nature as invaders and conquerors; to brave the perils of a campaign in which every element of opposition and terror was present; and to win the victory over an enemy that could not be wounded or driven to cover.

In the intellectual as well as in the physical world the easy leadership of mankind must be conceded to Indo-European peoples. In all literature and art the development of these peoples has been as conspicuous for its presence as the absence of the same has been notable among other divisions of the human race. The nervous force and intellectual ambitions of the Aryans have led them on to almost inconceivable heights of accomplishment and renown. From the remote epoch of the dawn—from that far age when history itself as yet was not—the progenitors of the Indo-European races showed themselves capable of sustained and wonderful intellectual flights. Mythology and poetry are the very oldest products of the conscious soul of man, and these have been peculiarly the work of the Old Aryans and their descendants. If the pencilings of the first light were

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seen in the valley of the Indus and on the plains of Iran, the secondary and more glorious effulgence rose above the horizon in Southeastern Europe, diffusing itself first through the archipelago and the peninsulas of Hellas, and then spreading to the West until, in the present age, the glow of morning reaches as far as the Pacific shores and the tundras of the Yukon.

It is with the destinies of the West Aryan races that I have attempted to deal in the current volume. The reader need not be told that these races have contributed the larger part of ancient and modern history. In comparison with their work all the rest is dwarfed into insignificance. The consideration of the West Aryans must, for this reason, occupy our attention throughout a large section of the whole treatise; and even then the subject must be dismissed with only casual references to the great and well-known Western peoples who now hold the leadership of mankind.

Of the ancient Aryans of Europe, we shall find opportunity to present a fuller treatment. The present volume will be wholly occupied with the account of the Greeks and the Romans. The former of these two splendid historical races was, without doubt, the principal civilizing agent in the redemption of Old Europe from aboriginal barbarism. There is something sublime in the intellectual courage with which the mere handful of Hellenes, planted in their little peninsula at the southeast angle of the Greater Europe, attacked the kingdom and dominion of chaos and ancient night. It was the struggle of starlight with Cimmerian gloom and dolor. It was the battle of infant Order with the empire of Orchus. It was the attack of immortal intellect upon the Titanic monsters of brute force wallowing in the caverns and roaring in hoarse discord through the dark and horrid woods of barbaric Europe. Certainly it was the part of the Greek race, in the general progress and redemption of mankind, to bring in light and freedom, and to save our race from the savagery of the past.

In the consideration of the Romans and their descendent races we shall find another aspect of incoming order. This relates to the organization of society and the administration of law. Whether or not vast and regular organism is a part of the ultimate state of mankind, or whether it is only an intermediate stage in the sublime progress of human development, we are not here to decide. Certain it is that organic structure and unification—the consolidation of society and the regular action of extended government — are necessary parts of the human evolution, and these parts were allotted, in the early age of West Aryan development, to the Roman race.

In the following pages I shall attempt to delineate the part which this great stock of mankind performed in the evolution of civilization, not indeed as a mere historical agent displaying its force in institutional forms, in senates and cities, in wars and thoroughfares, but as an organic, living entity, growing and spreading in the human manner until the branches thereof were stretched out over a large part of the bigness of the earth and the better part of the human family. That I shall be able to depict the evolution of the Greek and Latin races as amply and well as the place of those races was conspicuous and majestic in the ancient civilization, I do not expect; but that I may be able to present much of interest and something that is original in generalization and deduction is my desire and hope.

GREENCASTLE, 1894. J. C. R.

ÉDITION DE LUXE

GREAT RACES

OF

MANKIND

VOLUME III

THE WEST ARYANS

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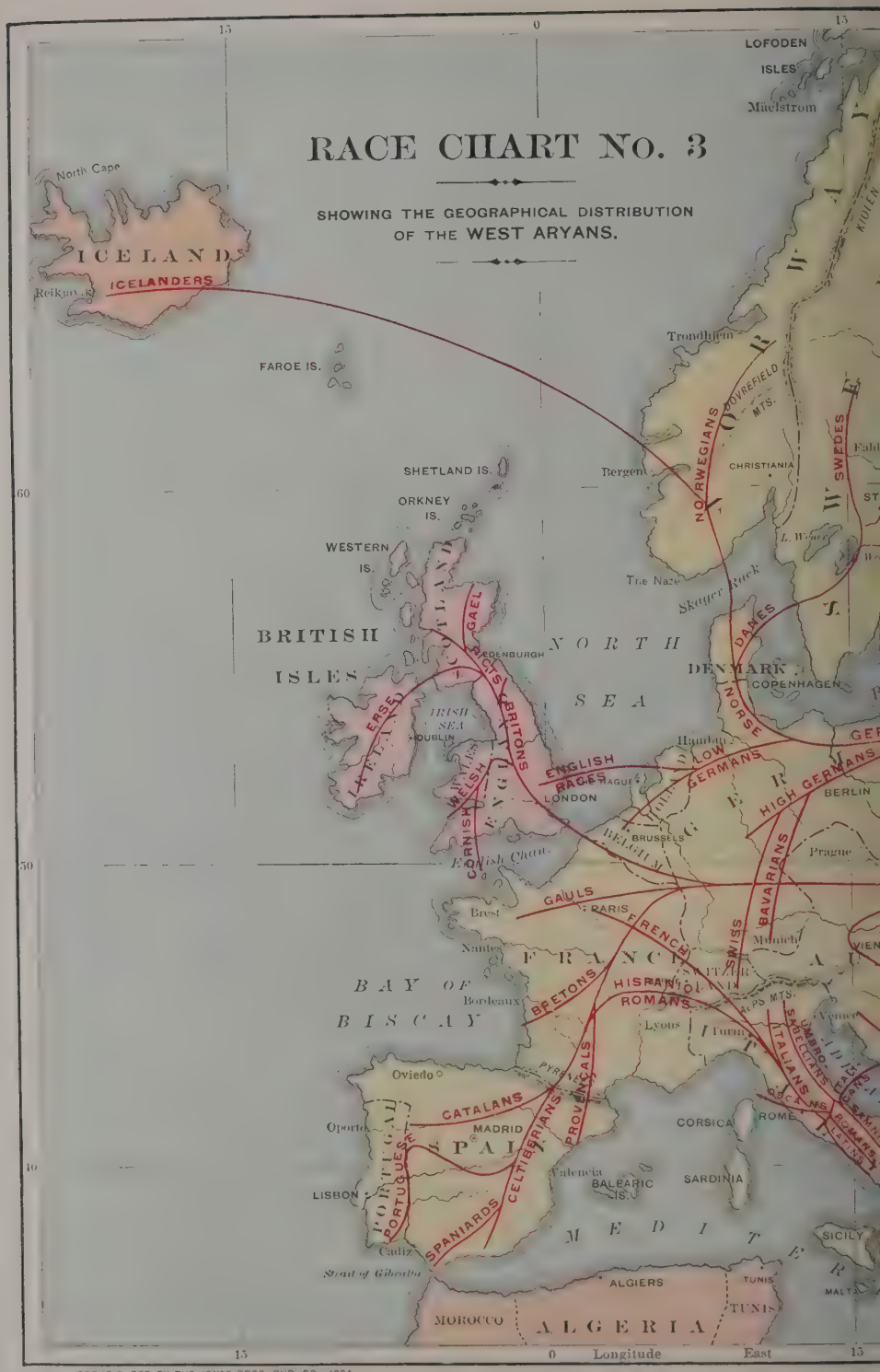

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C.Kanin
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Kandalask
Arctic Circle
Tornea
Uleaborg
W H I T E S E A
Mezene
R. Petchora
Archangel
Onega
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Lake Onega
R. Dwina
Lake Ladoga
Viborg
G. of Finland
ST PETERSBURG
L. Peipus
Novgorod
Pskov
Viatka
Volga R.
BLACK RUSSIANS
WHITE RUSSIANS
LIVONIANS
R U S S I A
URAL MOUNTAINS
Kazan
Moscow
Nijni Novgorod
Simbirsk
Verkhneural
Wilna
WESTERN SLAVS
TEUTONS
GREAT RUSSIANS
Moghilev
Warsaw
Orenburg
Uralsk
Ural R.
LITTLE RUSSIANS
Karkov
Dniester R.
Dnieper R.
Ekaterinoslav
Volga R.
LETTO-SLAVS
CAUCASIANS
Odessa
SEA OF AZOF
CRIMEA
SEA OF ARAL
CASPIAN SEA
CAUCASUS MTS.
BULGARIANS
B L A C K S E A
CONSTANTINOPLE
Sinope
THRACIANS
MINOR ASIANS
GEORGIANS
CAPPADOCIANS
LYDIANS
ARMENIANS
OSSETES
Smyrna
CARIANS
MYSIANS
R. Euphrates
Tigris R.
WEST ARYANS
TEHERAN
RHODES
CYPRUS
CANDIA
P E R S I A
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E.F. Fisk, Engr. N.Y.

Part Fourth.

THE RUDDY RACES.—CONTINUED.

II.—THE WEST ARYANS.

BOOK VII.—THE GREEKS.

CHAPTER XLIV.—GRÆCO-ASIANS.

ASIA MINOR was old when Europe was young. The country between the Caspian and the eastern body of the Mediterranean provoked to an early settlement. At least two of the principal divisions of mankind, both branches of the Ruddy races, found their way into this peninsular Asia and made it their home. It is believed that the Semitic migration extended around the Mediterranean on the northeast on its way into Pelasgic Greece and Etruscan Italy. Possibly also along the southern coast of the peninsula the Hamites found a lodgment; but the greater populations of Asia Minor were contributed by the strong Aryan stream flowing westward through the pass between the Caspian and the Persian gulf. The movement which carried the kinsfolk of the Iranians and the Indic-Aryans into the Lesser Asia and the West was doubtless coïncident in time with the more vigorous progress of the Indo-Europeans around the Caspian on the north into Slavonic, Teutonic, and Celtic Europe.

Ancient populations of Asia Minor essentially Aryan.

A glance at a classical map will show the distribution and position of the an-

VIEW OF TREBIZOND.—Drawn by A. Slom, from a photograph.

cient states between the Armenian mountains and the Ægean sea. The first of these on the east were Pontus and Cappadocia. To the west lay Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Galatia, Phrygia, Mysia, and Lydia. Along the southern coast were the kingdoms of Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Lycaonia, and Cilicia. It was through the northern

Distribution of the classical states; Semitic influences.

the whole country of Cappadocia was occupied by Aryan tribes. At that time the country was of far greater extent than at the classical epoch, reaching even to the borders of the Euxine. The name of Cappadocians was given to the tribes of this region by the Persians, but the Greeks called them White Syrians. It is evident that the Greek

Ethnic and political relations of the Cappadocians.

VIEW OF YASILI-KAIA, CAPPADOCIA.—SCULPTURED ROCKS OF BOGHAR-KENI.—Drawn by Charles Texier, from nature.

group that the Aryan tribes made their way to the West and in these districts formed their earliest settlements. South of the middle line of Asia Minor, running east and west, there were many touches of Semitic influence, and the peoples between this line and the Mediterranean were in a large measure composite. It is therefore with the northern states and their primitive populations that we have here to deal.

As early as the times of Herodotus writers considered this people to be a kindred of the Semitic races east of the Mediterranean, but this view was correct only to the extent of a certain admixture of Semites with the other Cappadocian races. Politically and socially the kingdom established at this early epoch in the country under consideration never attained a high degree of power or influence. It was a mountainous region and unfavorable for the development of despotic power such as

flourished in the level countries to the south. The kingdom, however, was still independent as late as the time of Strabo, and was divided into ten provinces, or districts.

Not much is known of the early institutions of the Cappadocians, or of their character as a people. They are said to have had many religious and superstitious rites, in the major part of which we are able to discover the mythology of the Aryan races, but in other portions the influence of the Semites. The primitive people were builders of great temples, which enjoyed a wide reputation in the classical ages, though the structures themselves were then in ruins. The greatest of all, and most celebrated, was the temple of Comana, dedicated to the goddess Ma. This divinity has been identified with the Bellona, or war goddess, of the Romans. She was worshiped in other parts of Asia Minor as well as in Cappadocia. We find in the early structure of the kingdom a close union of the priestly order with the secular princes. The high priest was second in rank to the king himself. He had the seat of his authority in the city of Comana, which was the capital of the province of Cataonia. Next in rank to this hierarch was the high priest of Zeus, in the city of Venasa. The temple of Artemis, in Castabala, had a fame through all the kingdoms of Western Asia and the states of Eastern Europe.

Mythology and superstitious rites of the race.

The dominant race of Cappadocians, as we find them in the age of Herodotus, were still in the attitude of conquerors to the aboriginal people of the country, whom they had reduced to slavery. The slaves were numerous everywhere, and were used as merchandise. They were the principal wealth of the Cappadocians and were exported as far west as Rome. Little is known, however, of the character of the slaves, but they were doubtless of a different race from the dominant people who had reduced them to serfdom.

Conquering Aryans reduce the aborigines to servitude.

Many evidences are noted of an affinity between the Cappadocians and the primitive Iranians. They had the same general character with the early Medes and Persians. In common with those peoples they cultivated the horse, and the steeds of Cappadocia were almost as much renowned for their excellence as those of Iran. The country was well adapted to the production of flocks and herds, and these furnished the earliest industries after the nomadic life gave place to settled pursuits. Of all the countries of Asia Minor, Cappadocia is highest above the level of the sea. The climate is cold and somewhat forbidding, and there is lack of fertility in the soil. These circumstances greatly impeded the subsequent development of the Aryan tribes who settled in these regions, and they never reached a high rank among the nations. In common with the other provinces of Asia Minor the Cappadocian kingdom became a sort of shuttlecock in the battledoor between Asia and Europe in the times of Alexander and the following ages.

Affinity of Cappadocians and Iranians; infertility of soil.

The primitive races of Pontus were closely allied in ethnic descent with those of Cappadocia. The two countries were, in a measure, identical in geographical character, the principal difference being the seacoast mountain ranges of Pontus, extending from Armenia to Paphlagonia. The old Greek writers included the inhabitants of Pontus under the designation of White Syrians; but the age of

White Syrians of Pontus; Xenophon's account of the people.

Herodotus was an age of conjecture, and his classifications are useless in scientific ethnology.

Concerning the races inhabiting the mountainous districts northeast of Asia Minor, the frontier regions of Cholchis and Armenia, very little is known. It is in evidence that barbarous tribes held these fastnesses before the Aryans, pressing to the westward, fell upon the country. From what stock the aborigines were descended we are totally ignorant. Their subsequent condition was that of slavery, as we have seen, among the Cappadocians. Xenophon, in the *Anabasis*, gives an account of the manners and customs of the peoples of Pontus in connection with that part of the march of the Greeks which extended from Trapezus to Cotyora. The paragraphs devoted to this subject by the great historian constitute the best part of all that is known of the ancient peoples and institutions of Pontus.

VALLEY OF THE MÆANDER, WITH HIERAPOLIS IN THE DISTANCE.—After a sketch of C. G. Danforth.

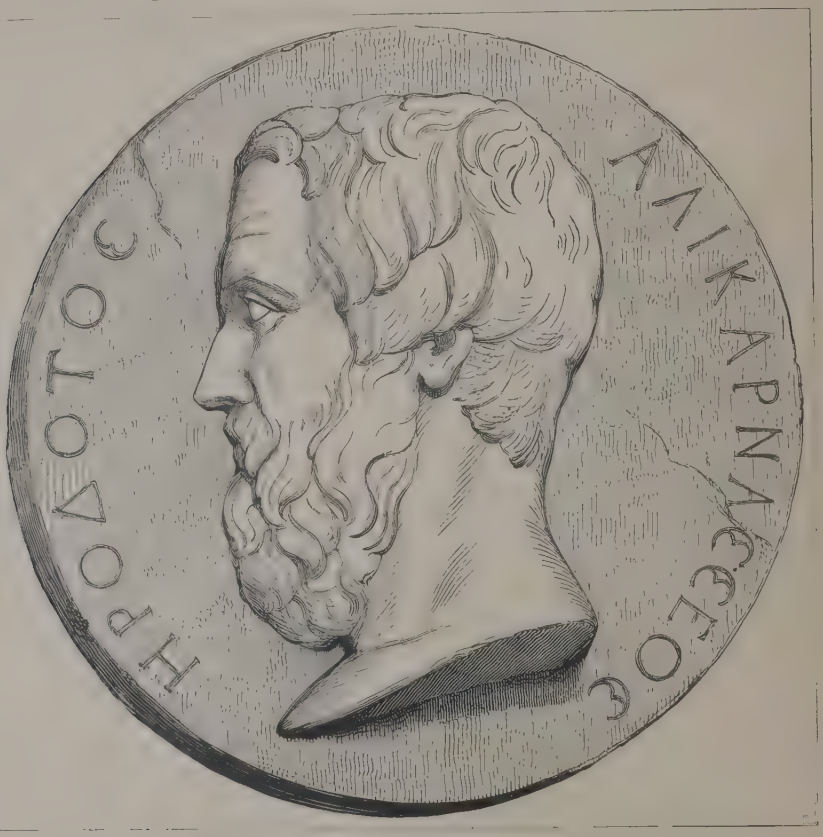
It is clearly evident, from subsequent developments, that the race inhabiting the country from the eighth to the third century B. C. was of the same original

descent with the Greeks. The latter, in the age of their ascendency, established colonies along the southern shore of the Euxine, and several of these were on the Pontine coast. The later Greeks and their old kinsmen were thus thrown into reunion after the lapse of centuries. It except when the overwhelming power of Persia stood at the door.

Race sympathy of the Pontians with the Greeks.

The early populations of Asia Minor were in a high degree diffusive. They spread over the surface and intermingled, and were in some sense as waters poured out. The demarkation

Diffusiveness of the Græco-Asian populations.



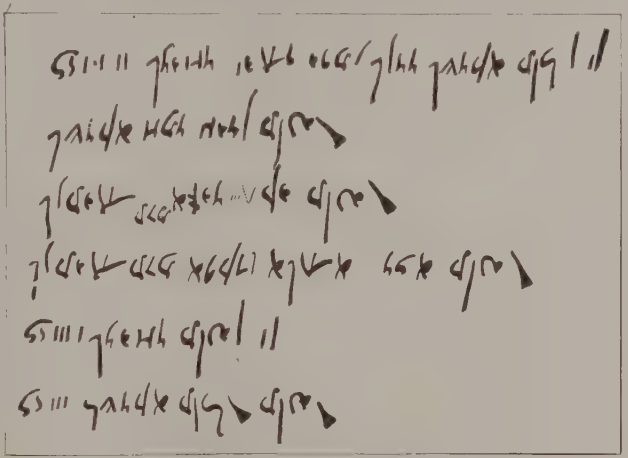
MEDALLION OF HERODOTUS.—From an antique bust.

is clear from the historical accounts of the relations and intercourse of the two peoples that they were of a common family, much more nearly allied by race affinities than were the Greeks and the Persians. In the contests between the latter nations the Greeks were nearly always able to persuade the states of Asia Minor to make common cause with them. between the Cappadocians and the Pontians is purely artificial—merely convenient. The same may be said of both peoples as it respects the Phrygians. The latter were perhaps the typical race of all the Lesser Asia. They were by far most nearly allied with the European Hellenes. Between them and the Ionian Greeks there was rather diversity

than positive difference of ethnic character and institutional forms. Their ancient country was as indefinite in its limits as were the outlines of their own dispersion.

The same is true, as we have already remarked, of almost every ancient state. The boundaries were indeterminate. Roughly speaking, Phrygia included the central plateau of Anatolia as far east as the river Halys. Within the historical period the country was restricted to an inland region, separated from the Euxine by the intervening states of Paphlagonia and Bithynia, but of old time the country was maritime. As early as the beginning of the ninth century B. C. there had been established on the Euxine coast a Phrygian *thalassocracy*, or sea government, as the name implies. The Troad and the surrounding region were Phrygian, and also the seaport at Sinope. In fact, the Trojans themselves were essentially Phrygians. The contest under the walls of Troy was recognized even in the Homeric period as a battle of Phrygia and Hellas.

Place and character of Phrygia; the Troad.



ANCIENT PHRYGIAN INSCRIPTION.
From the original in the Louvre.

This idea of the intimate relations of the Phrygians with the Western peoples entered into the tradition and mythology of the times. Venus, in her revelations to Anchises and his royal descendants, represented herself as the daughter of the King of Phrygia. One myth assigned to the Phrygians the rank of the primitive people of the world. Herodotus, Pausanias, and Claudian all agree that Phrygian was the original speech of mankind. This is equivalent to saying that so far as the Greek tongues were concerned they had—according to current belief—their origin in Phrygia.

Mythology ranks the Phrygians with the Greeks.

It appears that the oldest Aryan state in the country under consideration was established in the upper valley of the river Sangarius. Numerous monuments of the greatest antiquity are discovered in this region, bearing unmistakable evidence of a close kinship with the Greek art and traditions of a later period. Here it is that the ancient sculptures bear to modern times the famous myths of Midas the King, and Cybele the Mother, meaning the earth. The title *Vanaktei*, meaning "king," on the tomb of Midas, is manifestly the same word as the dative *anakti* (*ἄνακτι*) of the Greek.

Monuments show kinship of Phrygian and Greek art.

True, there are gathered from the Phrygian monuments many hints of Semitic, or Syrian, influences. Among these may be mentioned the *Boustrophedon* writing; that is, the ox-turn style of inscription. In general, the Aryan and Semitic races divided on the *direc-*

The Boustrophedon, or ox-turn, style of inscriptions.

tion of their writing; that is, whether it should be from left to right, as with the Western nations, or from right to left, as with the Hebrews and other Semites. In the early countries where the two races were confluent and the influences of each were felt in the national development, it sometimes happened that *both* styles of writing were employed; that is, the inscription was from left to right and back again from right to left. The analogy of a furrow in the field which turns at the end and then again at the place of beginning, and so on until the whole field is plowed, was seized by the quick discerning Greeks, who for this reason called the double style of writing *boustrophedon*, or ox-turn, from *bous* (βοῦς), an ox, and *trephein* (τρέφειν), to turn. The old Phrygian inscriptions are of this sort, and indicate plainly enough the combined influence of the Semitic and the Aryan peoples in their production.[1]

Such memorials of the ancient people of Phrygia are by no means limited to that country. They are found also in Lydia, Cappadocia, Lycaonia, and in other parts of Asia Minor. They are of a common style, and are in some instances obscure in their meaning and origin. Many inscriptions have baffled all attempts to decipher them. Some monuments appear to have belonged to a people earlier than the great Phrygian race of Aryan descent. Scholars have conjectured that in the earliest ages Cappadocia had an ascendency over Phrygia. In the valley of the Sangarius the ruins of a great city have been discovered and explored. It is manifestly the center of the old Phrygian kingdom, but some of the ruins properly belong to an earlier civilization. In the vicinity of these ruins are found some rocky precipices, the faces of which are covered with figures, geometrically cut on the surface. Some are crosses; others, winding curves crowned with a pediment. In other parts the patterns are of a floral character, and in two places outlines of sphinxes have been delineated, of a type as ancient as those of Egypt.

Deductions from antique inscriptions of Asia Minor.

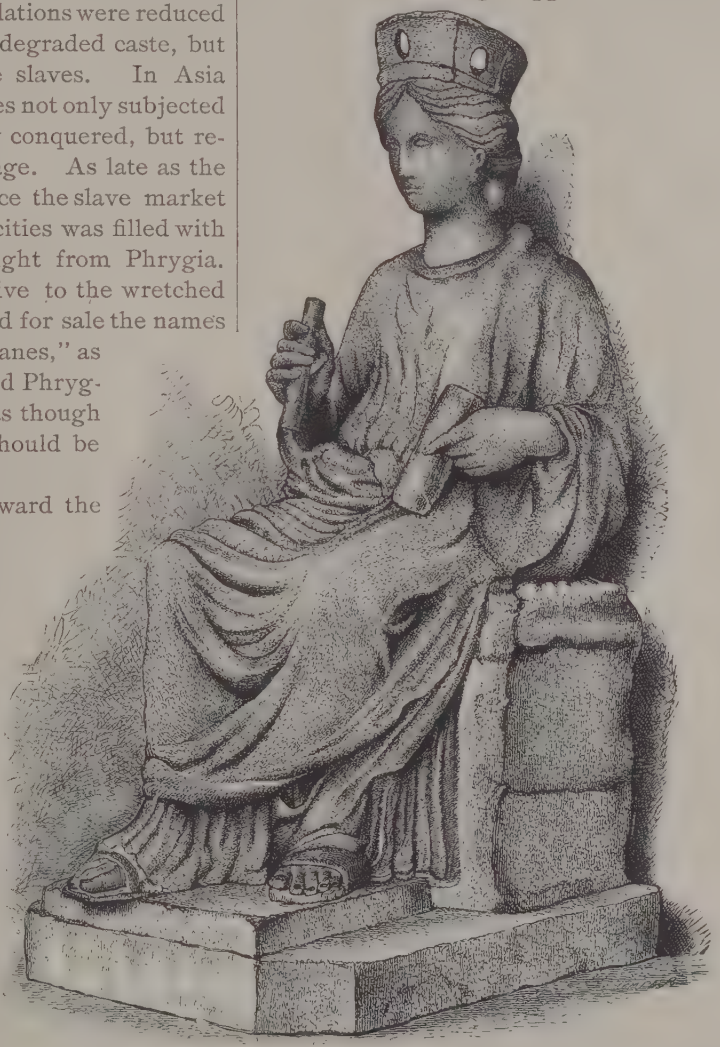
A few indications have been noted of the character of the old Phrygian society. The people are represented to have been freedom-loving and independent in disposition, chafing under restraint. Modern scholars have interpreted the word *Phryges*, or *Briges*, the Greek name of the race, as having meant freemen. Unfortunately, this character of primitive

Old Phrygian society; slavery and slave-making.

[1] If the question be raised *why* some primitive races chose to write from left to right and others from right to left, we are thrown back upon conjecture; but it is clearly the author's opinion that the difference depends upon the phenomena of right- and left-handedness. It is not yet determined by physiologists for what reason men are right-handed or the reverse. It has been claimed by some modern scientists that ambidexterity, or both-handedness, is the natural condition of the race, and that the use of one hand or the other by preference is an acquired habit belonging to the period of development in childhood. It is well known, however, that right-handedness is transmitted by heredity; that a disposition to be right-handed or left-handed "runs in the family." However this may be, it is certainly plausible that as a mere matter of convenience the right-handed races have ever written and will ever continue to write from left to right—this for the simple reason that in so doing the work is *exposed to correction* by the eye as it is performed; that is, it is not hidden by the hand. On the other hand, left-handed people—those writing with the left hand—must either write from right to left, or else experience much difficulty in watching the work as it is performed. It might be rash to hazard the suggestion that the ancient Semites were a left-handed race; but there is really nothing more extravagant in the supposition than in the manifest fact that the modern Europeans are right-handed as a rule. The style of writing called *boustrophedon*, as practiced by the ancients, seems to have been a compromise between two contradictory physiological dispositions, one instinct demanding the use of the right and the other of the left hand.

mankind cöexists with the slave-making disposition. It does not appear that the Iranian or Indic-Aryans enslaved the aborigines in their respective countries. In India the old populations were reduced to the condition of a degraded caste, but they were not made slaves. In Asia Minor the Aryan tribes not only subjected the races whom they conquered, but reduced them to bondage. As late as the classical ages in Greece the slave market at Athens and other cities was filled with human chattels brought from Phrygia. It was common to give to the wretched creatures thus exposed for sale the names of "Midas" and "Manes," as if in mockery of the old Phrygian kings. It was as though an Egyptian slave should be called "Pharaoh"!

As we follow westward the streams of Aryan migration from the ancient seat of the race we come, in Armenia, Cappadocia, and Phrygia, into those natural surroundings which seem first to have induced in the migrating tribes that mythologizing disposition for which they were ever afterwards famous. In these countries the reäction of nature upon man appears to have been exceedingly strong, and he in turn seems to have been peculiarly sensitive to his environment. The scenery of Phrygia is well calculated to set to work the primitive faculties of man in devising explanations of natural phenomena. It has been alleged by all travelers in the countries south of the Euxine that melancholy is the leading suggestion of the landscape. The early mythology of the Phrygians expressed the feeling which nature inspired. It was a melancholy mysticism, not multifariously inflected as was the system of the Greeks, but expressive rather of an overwhelming



STATUE OF CYBELE.
From the original in British Museum.

Reäctions of nature on the migrant Aryans in Phrygia.

sense of the power of nature and the subordination of man.

The two principal Phrygian deities were Cybele, the Mother, meaning the earth, and Sabazius, the Greek Dionysus. The leading notions expressed in the creation of these deities and in their worship were the vicissitudes of life and death. Cybele was the goddess of production. It is believed that death was symbolized in her religious rites by the act of human sacrifice. The ceremonies about the Phrygian altars were as coarse as they were realistic. In the very presence of the deity of the altar place it was a custom to mutilate the priests as an offering; and public prostitution was a part of the adoration of Cybele. It is easy to discover in these horrid practices many touches which must have been derived from the degraded Semitic ceremonials east of the Mediterranean; but it is also clear that they contained the germs of that refined and elegant mythology which, in the hands of the

Religious cult of Cybele and Sabazius.

SCULPTURES OF GRÆCO-ASIANS.—BAS-RELIEFS FROM SITE OF YASILI-KAIA.

Greeks, became the wonder of the ancient world.

It was from a Phrygian origin that the rites of Dionysus spread first into Thrace and afterwards into Hellas. The worship of Cybele became the central idea in that of Demeter, at Eleusis. There was a positive recognition of the Phrygian deities in Greece. The poet Pindar is said to have set up a shrine to Cybele at the door of his house. The Delphic oracle was thought to look with favor on the Phrygian gods. In the classical age there was a reäction against the foreign theology, and in the hands of philosophers and comic poets the old system was reasoned and ridiculed out of existence. The preservation, however, of the Mysteries by the Greeks still bore witness to the origin of the prevalent religious system.

Transfusion of the Phrygian faith among the Greeks.

One of the points of chief interest relating to the ancient Phrygians was their peculiar artistic skill. It was in their country that the Aryan genius, as it journeyed to the West, first seems to have manifested itself in true artistic concepts and handiwork. All to the east of this meridian may be said to have been Oriental. The art of Assyria and Babylonia seems to be in sympathy with the East. The winged lions of Nineveh, the Egyptian sphinxes, and the Indian gods have all the same reposeful and silent faces, the same mixture of the human and mythological parts, the same combination of the idealistic and realistic elements of human thought and handicraft. It is in Phrygia that art becomes human. It is in the same spirit with that of the later Greeks. If the subject is mythological, the work is natural. From hence the seeds of true artistic form were scattered first to the shores of the Ægean, afterwards in the archipelago, and finally in Hellas.

In Phrygia the art of the East became human.

Here we emerge under the walls of Troy. Doubtless the social and civil development of the Phrygian race culminated in the city of Priam. Whatever may be said of Homer, Troy is a fact—an entity. The site of the heroic metropolis has been identified by Schliemann. The low mound of Hissarlik marks the spot. Explorations and excavations have brought to light the Greek Ilium of the prehistoric era. In fact, not only the Troja of the *Iliad* has been laid bare, but, according to the deductions of the great antiquary, older cities at a greater depth have been exhumed on the same spot. Schliemann holds that the Troy of the Homeric wars extends to a depth of only six and a half feet below the surface, but older relics lie below this level, and deeper than these still older to the depth of fifty-two and a half feet. On the whole, the Homeric delineations of life and manners have been verified, and not contradicted, by the spade and cart of the archæologist, and we are now able to examine and criticise the actual relics of the ancient Phrygian race.

Revelation of the Troy of the "Iliad."

The character of the people and the method of life in the heroic ages have been fully delineated in the immortal pages of the *Iliad*. We speak here of only so much as may be called the Trojan side of the picture. The condition of society in the city of Priam was fully outlined by the great bard. Even the details of manners and customs, the phraseology of the home, the street, and the battlefield are given with such painstaking and iteration as to leave nothing for any subsequent pen. Everything, from the state of Priam's kingdom, the method of his government,

Condition of Trojan society depicted in the "Iliad."

THE PLAINS OF TROY, FROM ERENKEUL.—Drawn by William Simpson, from nature.

and his relations with foreign states, down to love stories and sentimental talk among the Trojan youth, is repeated in the flowing hexameters which have given substance to every subsequent epic written by man, and have furnished by translation and comment an ample knowledge of the heroic epoch to every tribe on the earth having the gift of literature.

For these reasons it is not needed that space should here be given to any extended account of the condition of the people who met the Greeks on the plains of Troy. It is sufficient to say that they were the blossom and fruit of the old Phrygian race, having the same ultimate descent with the Greeks themselves, and that no other people obscured in the shadows of the dawn, wholly dependent for their fame upon the war poems of their enemies, have so shined forth from the darkness with the glories of great character and high purpose upon them as have the warriors, the sages, the princes, and princesses of the buried city of Priam.

Preëminence of the Phrygian character; the race of Teucer.

THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS.—From a Greek vase of the third century B. C.

The recitation of the Trojan legend will never cease to fascinate so long as heroism is reckoned the highest aspect of human life. The city was founded by old Teucer, son of the river god Scamander and the nymph Idæa. For some reason the myth of river birth was peculiarly attractive to the Phrygian race. It was repeated as late as the time of the war with the Greeks. Paris was born like his great ancestor; his father was the river god Cebrinus, and his mother a nymph. The legend re-

fers the old Scamander to a residence in Crete. Teucer was told to plant his city wherever the "earthborn creatures" should attack him. Journeying through the Troad he was beset by mice, which gnawed in twain his bowstrings and those of his companions. So here the oracle was fulfilled, and he built the town of Sminthium, that is, Mouseville. Afterwards Phœbus Apollo of the Homeric fiction took from this place his title of *Sminthcus*, or the Mouser.

PSYCHE RECEIVED INTO OLYMPUS.—From the painting by Caravaggio.

Then came Dardanus, son of Zeus and the nymph Electra; that is, the Sky loved the Lightning, Daughter of the Mountain, and Dardanus was born of the marriage. So the land was called Dardania. The people were the Teucri. Afterwards, when Tros succeeded his father Dardanus on the throne, the people became Trojans. Tros took to wife the daughter of Scamander, and three sons, Ilus, Assaracus, and Ganymede, were born. From Ilus and Assaracus two royal houses were derived. The princes of the first were Ilus, Laömedon, Priam, Hector. Those of the other were Assaracus, Capys, Anchises, Æneas. From Ilus the city took the name of Ilium; and, according to Vergil's fiction, the far-off Roman name of Julius was thus derived.

Thus rose and flourished Troy. The earth was too thickly peopled. The gods must destroy some for the good of the remainder. In the Olympian councils war was chosen as the means unto the end. Discord threw the apple among the goddesses. Paris was appointed committeeman to decide its ownership. His reward was Helen. The immortals conspired that he should take her away; but she was the wife of the king. Hospitality was broken. Greece arose in arms. Troy was assailed. Ten years the siege continued. The gods came down from the mountains and fought among the mortal warriors—all for Helen. Then came the insult to the priest of Apollo; the sudden wrath of Achilles; the final stratagem, the wooden horse, the sack and pillage of the doomed town, the accomplishment of fate and destiny.—No other such story has been invented or elaborated or believed by the sons of men.

The gods join issue, Achilles rages, and Troy hurtles down.

The knowledge of the Trojan arts has already been diffused through the world. More recently the explorations of Schliemann have demonstrated the truthfulness of the old literary pictures transmitted by the Greeks. The Trojans were undoubtedly a chivalrous people—active, warlike, pervaded with noble sentiments. Their customs and rules of conduct are graphically delineated in the Homeric page and need not be repeated. In some respects the arts had reached a high development. The jewels and ornaments plentifully discovered in the excavations at Hissarlik show conclusively the taste and skill of an accomplished race. The textile fabrics that were worn for garments by the princes and warriors indicated a high measure of attainment in the practical arts. At the same time

Knowledge of Trojan arts diffused and perpetuated.

HELEN OF TROY.—Drawn by Hieron, from the Spineli cotylos.

the wearing of lions' skins and other trophies snatched by savage conquest from the natural world points to the comparatively recent emergence of the dominant people from the barbaric age.

Though Phrygia was one of the most interesting of the ancient states of Asia Minor, it was by no means the most powerful. The leading place, civilly and politically, belongs to Lydia. The country was centrally situated, and was no doubt immediately in the pathway of migration from the Old World to the New—from the Asiatic nest of races to their dispersion in Europe. As in the case of the other states, the boundaries of the country can not be fixed. They were indefinite, and varied greatly at different epochs.

Place of the Lydians in the highway of migration.

Tradition has preserved the usual stories relative to the founding of the Lydian kingdom. There was a dynasty of the sons of Hercules. As in the case of Phrygia the name Midas is the legendary title of the mythical kings, so, in Lydia, Lydus is the royal name during the fabulous ages. Herodotus tells the story. Lydus was the brother of Mysus and Car. It is the mere duplication of that military chieftainship under which the Aryan tribes in all parts of the world were brought from the migratory into the settled phase of life. From Mysus and Car we have the two geographical names of Mysia and Caria. It is the old story of the division of a territory among three brothers.

Legend of the foundation of the Lydian power.

The old Lydians had a native historian, Xanthus, who flourished about the middle of the fifth century B. C. According to his authority, three successive dynasties held sway over his country. The first, that of the Attyads, is purely mythical. The ancient Aryans always placed a god at the beginning of their dynasties. Herodotus has a story to the effect that Tyrsenus, son of Attys, during the Attyad dynasty, gathered a Lydian colony and went into Etruria. Perhaps the Father of History had had a dream to that effect, and regarded it as historical!

Stories of Xanthus and Herodotus.

The second dynasty was also divine, or half-divine, in its origin. The names of the kings belonging to this period seem to have been derived from the East. Herodotus says that Omphale, first of this dynasty, was a son of Ninus and a grandson of Belus. As a matter of fact, there was considerable ethnic interfusion among the Lydians from an Assyrian and Babylonian source. We are here in a country far enough to the south to have received certain currents from the countries peopled and civilized by the Semites. This may account for the association in the page of Herodotus of the Lydian dynasty with that of Chaldæa.

Ethnic history, however, is not much concerned with legendary conjectures about the founding of nations. The old credulous story-tellers must be put aside if we would substitute fact for fiction. The real current of Lydian nationality was of Aryan origin, and the development of the kingdom was in the same manner which we have seen exemplified in Cappadocia and Phrygia, but on a more extensive scale.

Lydian race of Aryan descent; invention of coined money.

Antiquaries have drawn from the ancient Lydian monuments and other sources of information many authentic data upon which a tolerably accurate account of the national life may be constructed. It can not be doubted that the Lydians were one of the greatest industrial peoples of antiquity. They have been credited with the invention of

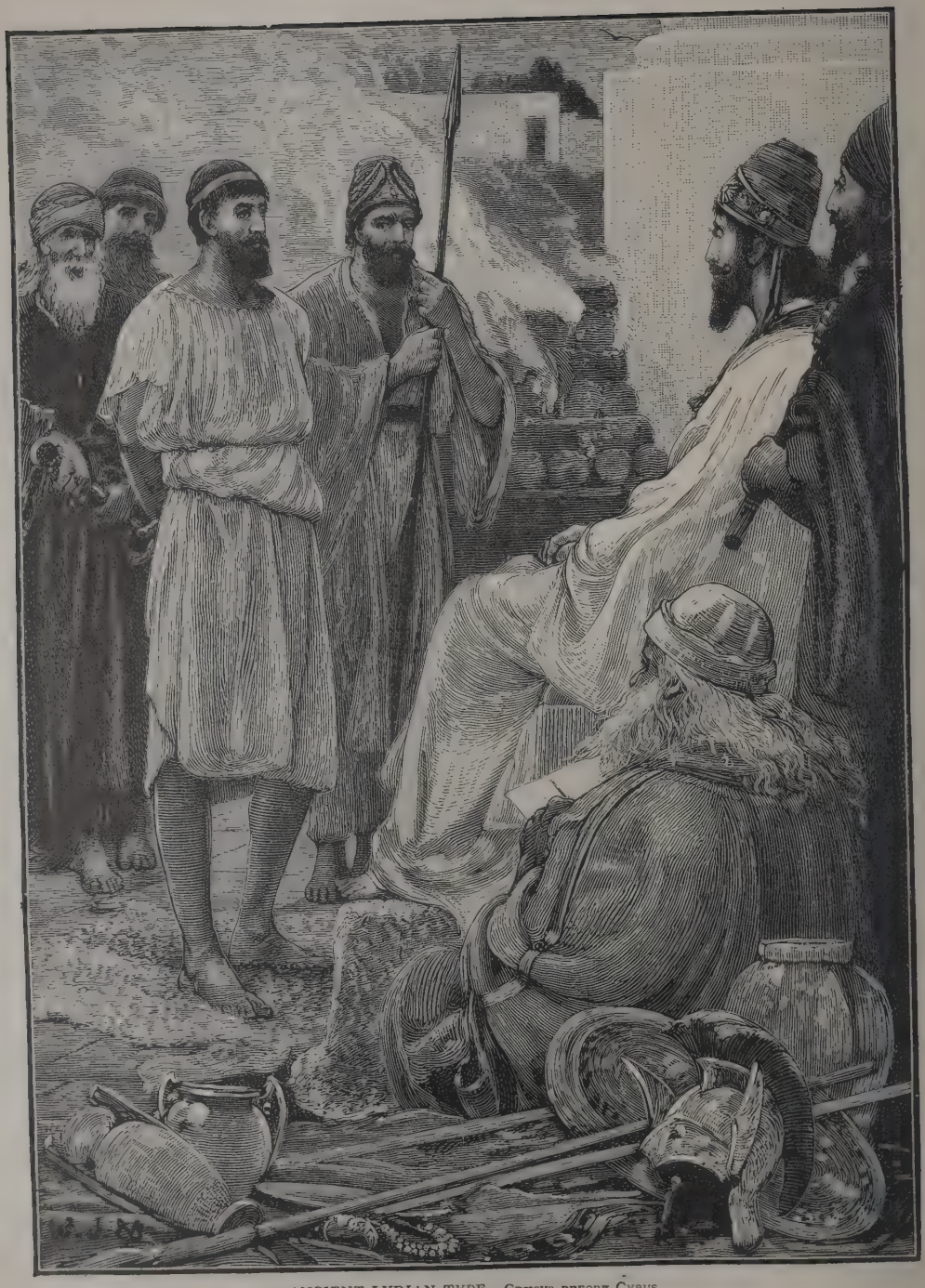
coined money and of many other instruments of bartar and general commerce. It is thought that the oldest existing coins, properly so called, are those of the Mermnadæ, or great kings of Lydia. These coins—if so they may be called—were of *electrum*, that is amber, but were probably alloyed with gold and silver. These were used in Lydian commerce until the times of Crœsus, when coins of the precious metals took their place.

RUINS OF EPHESUS, WITH THE PRISON TOWER.—From a photograph.

Here for the first time in the history of the Aryan race we perceive the ascendency of new forces in the coming national life. It can no longer be said that the religious evolution is dominant over the other elements which were blending in the formation of the Lydian character. They now begin to be placed in contrast with the Eastern Aryans; and the contrast is ever afterwards maintained among the races of Europe. The civil, social, industrial life becomes more than the mythological life, the life of superstition, of awe, of devotion. Not that the Aryan peoples of Asia Minor and, further on, those of Southern Europe, ceased to have the religious instinct, ceased to brood over the problem of existence, ceased to frame explanations of the mysteries of the natural and spiritual worlds, but the peoples of the West henceforth remanded these considerations to a less important place, and became essentially practical in their development.

Beginnings of secular society among the Lydians.

The old Iranians were on the crest between the Oriental and the Occidental tendencies of the human family. From this high ridge of division mankind



ANCIENT LYDIAN TYPE.—Cræsus before Cyrus.

slope off orientalwards into the valley of the Indus. Mysticism more and more prevails; superstition more and more predominates; the industrial and practical aspect of life is more and more subordinated to the dream of the philosopher and the rhapsody of the devotee. But westward from Iran the tendency is reversed. The Lydians may be called the first great industrial Aryan nation. Their country was such as to suggest the devotion of human energy to the creation of value. Very unlike the mountainous and sterile regions of Cappadocia were the hillsides and valleys of Lydia. Here grew the forest of fir; here sprang the vine; and here rich fields of grain and saffron rose, almost unaided, from the bosom of earth.

Lydians the first of the great industrial peoples.

The climate was mild and healthful. The rivers gave life to the valleys, and their sands were mixed with shining particles. The Pactolus from his fountains in the Tmolus mountains, passing centrally through the country, brought down a burden of gold. Cities that were built on his banks had golden sand in the streets. The region was favored beyond any of the countries which we have thus far described as belonging to the Aryan race. Though the land was sometimes shaken with earthquakes, and the Mæonian plateau on the east was the center of volcanic disturbances, nature was otherwise calm in her aspects and fertile in her resources. The rivers and lakes, such as the Gygæan, in whose waters the remains of pile dwellings like those of Switzerland have been discovered, abounded with fishes, and the native woods of the hill-country furnished the gentler kinds of game.

Distribution of gold; other favoring conditions of nature.

Such were the natural conditions in which the Lydians found themselves at a period fully a thousand years before our era. Duncker has fixed, with approximate certainty, the date of the establishment of the Heraclid dynasty at 1194 B. C. Henceforth Lydia began to flourish and to assume that strongly industrial aspect which the inventive genius of her people and the richness of the country suggested. From this time

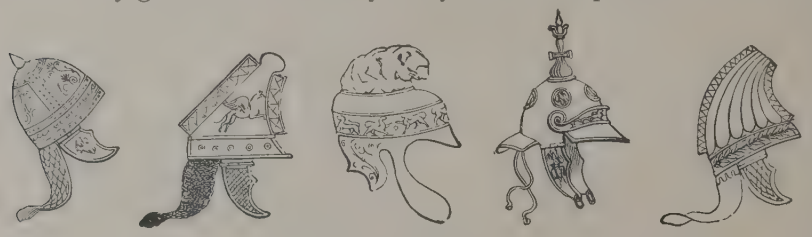
Beginning of nationality and the industrial life.

SCULPTURES FROM TEMPLE OF DIANA AT EPHESUS.
From original in British Museum.

may be dated the beginnings of the industrial arts. All of the physical aspects of civilization brightened under the existing conditions, and only the unfortunate place of Lydia on the map prevented the country from rising to a first rank among the ancient nations.

Fame of the Lydians and their arts among the Greeks.

The Greeks were not wont to ascribe to other peoples such arts as they might claim for themselves. Among the foreign races to whom they cheerfully conceded preëminence the Lydians held the highest rank, with only the possible exception of the Egyptians. As early as the days of Homer, Lydia had become a manufacturing state. There were costly garments and rich jewelry.



PHRYGIAN CAPS AND CASQUES.

The weapons worn by the Lydian warriors in battle were considered artistic by the old bard, who was familiar with the splendid armor of the Greeks and the Trojans. The invention of the art of dyeing fabrics with rich hues is conceded to the Lydians. Their purple was famous. The carpets manufactured in Sardis were as preëminent in their kind as are the Turkish rugs which the modern connoisseur imports from Smyrna. It has been conjectured that for fully three thousand years the manufacture of these rich and costly fabrics has continued unbroken in the country where they were first produced.

It was by the Lydians also that the manufacture of those semitransparent fabrics which sufficiently reveal, and yet sufficiently conceal, the beauties of the human form was first begun. Indeed, all the articles from which the finest garments of antiquity—finest as to both their material and their fabrication—

Artistic fabrics; concealment of the person in dress.

were produced, were either invented or manufactured by the skillful spinners and weavers of the Lydian cities. Herodotus has pointed with some wonder to the disposition of the Lydians to discourage nudeness or the large exposure of the body without drapery. Herein was a striking diversity of taste between them and the Hellenes, whose artistic sense was so strong as to make of no effect certain modest dispositions of the human species which have led most races to prefer concealment to the exposure of the form. We may not suppose that the Lydians were wanting in that physical excellence which would have delighted the eye with its curving lines and tints of beauty. It is more likely that the industrial spirit among them and their skill in fabrication led them to encourage the wearing of costly garments, elaborately produced and ornamented.

From this point of view we are able again to see the dividing tendencies between the East and the West. The costume of the Lydians was virtually an abandonment of the Oriental pattern. The old Aryans of the Iranian plateau, and even their Western descendants, the Armenians, still favored the styles of the East. The loose and girded sort of garments still prevailed in the eastern

The Lydians abandon the costumes of the Orient.

parts of Asia Minor, among the Cappadocians, and even the Phrygians; but among the Lydians other patterns, distinctly suggestive of the styles of apparel which were prevalent in classical Europe, and even in more recent ages, appeared, and became characteristic of the people. While the Lydian dress was as brilliant in its color and more complete in its details than those of the East, it tended to a closer and more artistic conformity to the body, revealing its beauty while concealing.

Introduction of new garments and styles of dress.

The Lydians have been assigned the distinction of being the first people to have invented and worn trousers, coats with sleeves, and shoes properly so called. Here are at least three leading articles of apparel to which these ancient people may be said to have dictated the ultimate forms which they now bear among the civilized nations of the West. It is claimed, moreover, that the celebrated Phrygian cap, which has been taken as a model for beauty and majesty in headwear, was invented by the Lydians rather than their eastern neighbors whose name it bears. Wherever on the coins or medals of ancient or modern times, on the summit of liberty poles, on the heads of those ideals which art has devised to express the spirit of freedom or nationality the old Phrygian cap appears, we have, among all civilized nations, a memento of the skill in costume and handicraft peculiar to the ancient Lydians.

Iranian passion for horse-riding subsides with the Lydians.

In one other respect at least this people mark the western limits of a disposition which was peculiarly Aryan. The old race of Iran had for its companion the horse. More than once we have remarked upon the skill with which our ancestral Iranians governed and subordinated this noble animal. Horsemanship was the primitive art of the Aryan race. It has been maintained in several countries to the present time. He who beholds a Persian prince riding through the streets of Ispahan sees the modern representative of the ancient knight who scoured the plains on horseback, outriding the winds. This ethnic characteristic was carried westward with the Aryan migrations, and reäppeared in many of the states where the tribes of this stock established themselves and grew. In the eastern kingdoms of Asia Minor horsemanship was nearly as much cultivated and perfected as it had been in the original seats. As late as the times of the Persian ascendency the Cappadocian horsemen were regarded as the flower of Darius's cavalry; but on reaching Lydia the disposition to ride gave place to the disposition to fabricate. The clatter of horses' feet, beating like the rhythmic pulse of Greek hexameters over hill and plain, gave place to the clatter of the artisan's factory and the merchant's shop. It was in the fertile countries of Western Asia Minor that the fiery race of steeds which had borne their masters for centuries in wild pursuit and wilder flight on the uplands of Iran descended with the hills to the level plains and sank in the sands of the Pactolus and the Mæander.

Absence of the artistic sense and literary disposition.

For some reason not easily discoverable this people, remarkable for vital activities and industrial enterprises, highly inventive as it relates to the products of artisanship, were not great in art, and had no literary genius. Owing to these two circumstances, the reputation of the Lydians with posterity has not been fixed on that immovable basis from which have risen the imperishable columns of Egypt and Hellas. Many

phases of Lydian civilization have accordingly perished. In other respects we are dependent for their reputation upon foreign peoples, notably the travelers and historians of Greece, and for the perpetuation of a fame which might otherwise have totally vanished.

It is doubtless true that, like other utilitarian peoples, the Lydians were immersed in the pursuits of gain and in the pleasures consequent upon the possession of wealth. It is conceded that many forms of amusement, afterwards cultivated by the European Aryans, had their origin in Lydia. Games at ball and at dice were learned by Greek adventurers who visited the country and were carried back to the youthful Hellenes, well suited to indulge in such sports and to improve them. It is thought that the flute and the cithara were both of Lydian invention, and that the science of music was cultivated to a degree that led the Greeks to introduce both the instruments and the melodies. The rustic pæans of the older Greeks were thus improved in form and harmony by the superior music of the Lydians.

Love of gain predominates; Lydian games and music.

The people were peculiarly free from care, jocular, sociable. The ancient authors who visited the country could but be struck with the prevailing conviviality. The women participated with the men in public feasts and banquets, and this circumstance furnishes another striking example of the great departure which the Western Aryans were making from the old Iranian standards. Already we may discover traces, in this comparative equality of the woman, of that still wider emancipation which she was destined to attain among the Teutonic nations. The Lydian women appearing in public came well clad, uncovered as to her face and head, but closely and elegantly dressed as to her person. In her costume were all those evidences of elegance and taste to which we have referred above in considering the dress of men. Children also came with their mothers to the banquet. The country became luxurious, and the semi-austere Roman travelers of the later republic, and more notably pleasure seekers from the West, were struck with amazement at the refinements and feasting of the Lydians. It became fashionable for the man of Europe to go on pleasure trips to Sardis, and there to become to a certain extent assimilated with the gay train of revelers. The city was to the earlier classical ages what Paris has been in modern times.

Society of the Lydians; Sardis a pleasure resort.

LYDIAN GYMNASTS.—After a Greek sculpture.

It has been thought by those who have looked into the philosophy of the situation that the reduction of Lydia to a satrapy by the Persians, with the consequent paralysis of the local political life, turned the energies of the people to the social life, which expanded and flourished under the stimulus thus afforded. The reputation of the Lydians for the gayety of their manners, their luxurious style of living, their skill in entertainment, and particularly their musical genius, was handed down first to Europe, then to modern times. Even the saturnine genius of Milton remembered with a thrill the music of this ancient race, as the dancing strophes of *L'Allegro* wound and raveled in his imagination:

Gayety and luxury of the people; Lydian music.

> "And ever, against eating cares,
> Lap me in soft *Lydian* airs,
> In notes, with many a winding bout
> Of linkéd sweetness long drawn out."

The civilization of Lydia was thus refined rather than substantial. The country held its attractiveness and society its allurements during the whole of the Hellenic and Roman ascendencies. In the eastern part of the country the people retained much of their original character, and were assimilated with the half-barbaric Cappadocians; but in the copious districts of Western Lydia society grew rich and feasted on its own abundance until luxury intervened with a measure of effeminacy.

Reign of refinement; effeminacy follows abundance.

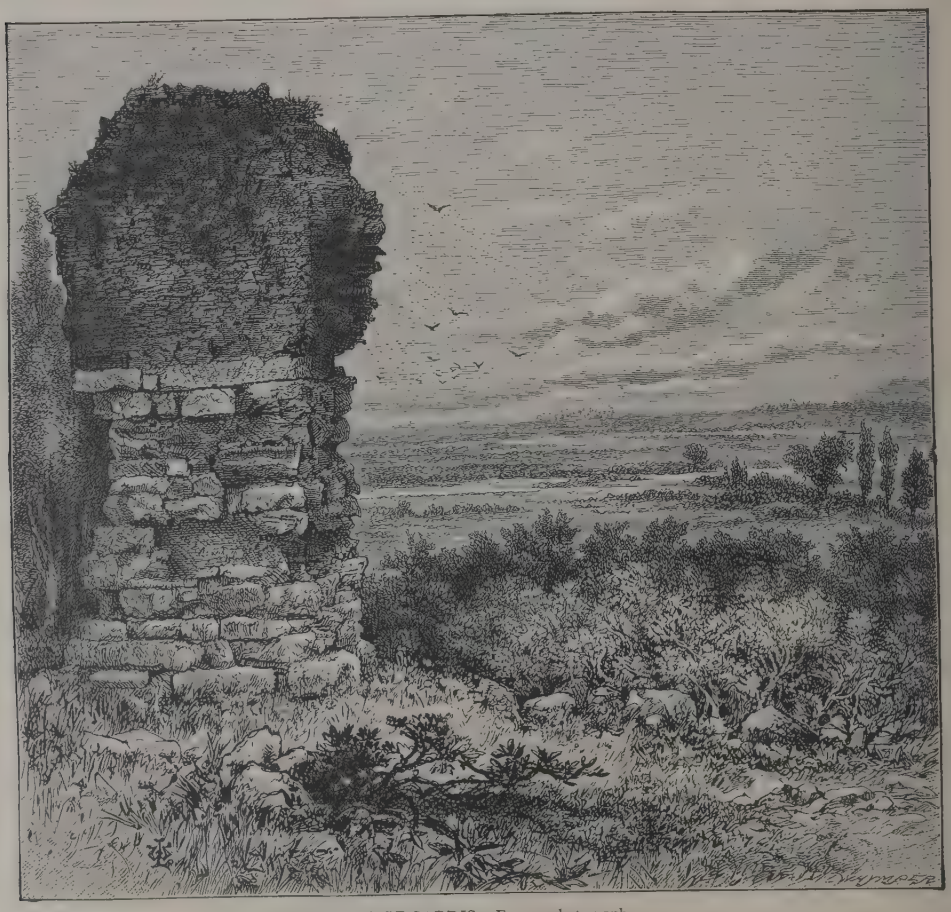
Only in one respect did the Lydians cultivate the more enduring forms of civilized life. Neglectful of true art and of the advantages of literature, they sought to perpetuate themselves, especially their princes, by the ancient device of monumental sepulchers. Rock tombs, with sculptures and other concomitants in stone, are found in all parts of Asia Minor, from Cappadocia to the Ægean. Lydia is rich in such remains. After the tremendous sepulchral monuments of Egypt those of Asia Minor are perhaps the most imposing and significant existing mementos of the dead.

Strife for immortality by monuments; the Bin Tepe.

ROCK TOMBS OF THE LYDIANS AT MEIRON.—Drawn by Harry A. Harper, from a photograph.

About five miles north of Sardis, on a rocky elevation between the Gygæan lake and the river Hermus, the Lydian kings were buried. The place is called the *Bin Tepe*, or the Thousand Hills. The "hills" referred to means the "tombs," which rise to great proportions. About eighty of them are still in tolerable preservation. Among these, three tumuli are of very great size and importance. The smallest of them is one hundred and ten feet in height and about two thousand feet in circumference; while the greatest rises to an elevation of two hundred and thirty feet, and has a circuit of three thousand five hundred feet. The situation of the great mound is such as to look directly across into the ancient acropolis of Sardis.

Under this monument was buried King Alyattes, whose fame is coëxtensive with the Lydian name. Herodotus declares that the tomb of this monarch, "except the work of the Egyptians and Babylonians," is the greatest monument of the kind in the world. There is much in common between these memorials and the pyramids of Egypt. The



RUINS OF SARDIS.—From a photograph.

Character of the royal sepulchers.

sarcophagus is far within, in the center. The dead prince was laid either in a cavity hewn from the native rock, or else in a stone chamber of the strongest masonry. Around this and above was placed heavy stonework, generally circular in form, and the whole was crowned with the tumulus. It is not impossible that antiquarian research, extending to these old vaults of the Lydian kings, will still reveal much of interest relative to the life and manners of the people who reared them.

Principal Lydian cities; Sardis in particular.

Lydia, as might be inferred from her industrial and commercial character, was a land of great cities. Many of these were already famous before the age of the Greeks. Besides Sardis, the capital, the cities of Smyrna, Samorna (afterwards Ephesus), Myrina, Cyme, Priene, and Pitane were all of greater antiquity than the municipal development of the Hellenic race. These old Lydian towns were reputed to have been of Amazonian origin. Myrina, Queen of the Amazons, is said to have given her name to the city so called, and the tomb of the mythical princess is still pointed out in the Troad. As to Sardis, it was certainly one of the richest and most luxurious of the early cities of Western Asia. It is believed that the Homeric Hyde, said to have been the capital of the Mæonian chiefs, is the same as the more recent Sardis. It is certain that from the beginning of the eighth century B. C., and even before, to the time when Constantinople became the capital of the East, Sardis continued to be the center of those refinements and luxuries with which her name is ever associated. Amid the ruins on the banks of the Pactolus columns are still standing which mark the site of the temple of Cybele. Under foot are the ruins, not of one city, but of many, and it is believed that few ancient sites would so richly reward the scientific explorer as that of the old Lydian capital.

Tradition of the descent of the Bithynians.

In the time of her ascendency Lydia had a quasi sway over several adjacent states. On the north and northwest were Mysia and Bithynia, between which and Lydia the boundaries were fluctuating and uncertain. Bithynia lay on the Euxine, and was in close connection, ethnically and historically, with Thrace. Herodotus, Xenophon, and Strabo all agree that the Bithynians were of Thracian origin; that the line of migration had here doubled back across the Bosphorus into the country south of the Euxine.

The country is said to have taken its name from the Thracian tribe called the Bithyni, but there was another tribe, the Thyni, who lay nearer to the Bosphorus, and were, therefore, more likely to be of Thracian descent. There were already aborigines in the country when the Bithyni appeared as conquerors. One of these, the Mariandyni, resisted the invaders and maintained their independence. These lay further to the east, having their territories adjacent to Paphlagonia. According to Herodotus, the Thyni and Bithyni maintained a separate political existence until the age of Crœsus, when they were subjugated by Lydia. Afterwards they were absorbed in the Persian dominions, and were included in the satrapy of Phrygia.

Features and products of the country.

The natural features of Bithynia are more irregular than those of Mysia and Lydia. There are mountains covered with forests. It is, perhaps, the best timber region of Asia Minor, and large deposits of coal are added to the resources of the country. The valleys which open

toward the Euxine are rich in fruits and flowers, while that of the Sangarius is fertile in the production of grain. The mulberry flourishes, and the silkworm supplies from the city of Brusa the materials of an extensive manufacture.

Bithynia is the seat of several important cities. The two capitals were Nicomedia and Nicæa, rivals in their own country, and famous in the annals of the Greeks. Chalcedon at the mouth of the Bosphorus, and Haraclea on the Euxine coast, one hundred and twenty miles away, were also celebrated cities during the Hellenic and Roman ascendencies. The industries and commerce of these seaport towns rivaled the trade of the Ægean islands, and drew thither the barks of the Phœnicians.

The Bithynian cities; place of the Mysians.

It is clear that the early populations of Western Asia Minor were greatly interfused. The ethnic lines can be nowhere traced with exactitude. There was not much specific development, but a considerable general display of national growth. Mysia was much less important as a state than Lydia. Herodotus makes Mysus, the head of this tribe, to have been the brother of Lydus and Car. During the Trojan war the Mysians were allies of the Trojans, but their early history is lost in obscurity. Herodotus repeats a story that the Mysians invaded Europe with the Teucrians before the war with Troy, but the story is fiction.

PERGAMOS.

Authentic history touches the Mysians for the first time on the occasion of their subjection to Crœsus, King of Lydia. Afterwards the country was absorbed in the Persian empire, and became a part of the satrapy of Phrygia. Of the Mysian language only a single relic has been preserved. This is the inscription found in the acropolis of Thymbria, which has not

Political vicissitudes of the race; Mysian cities.

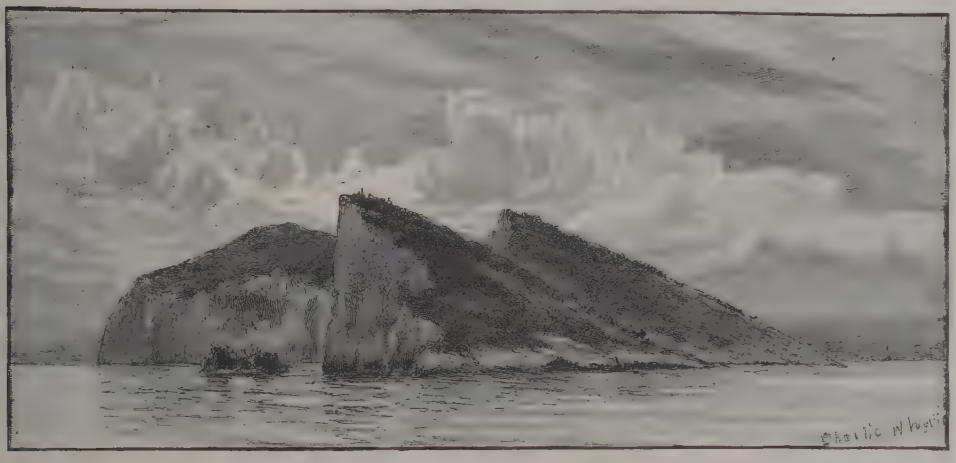
yet been deciphered. The most important of the Mysian cities was Pergamon, which flourished at a very early age and afterward became the seat of a great monarchy under the successors of Alexander. Cyzicus, on the Propontis, was a Milesian colony, and was the principal of several Greek settlements which extended around the seashore of this part of Asia Minor. The region here referred to became in after times, under the dominion of the Greeks, the seat of the Æolian confederation.

Caria occupied the southwestern angle of the peninsula. Like the other states of Lesser Asia, its boundaries were indeterminate. The most striking natural feature of the country is the succession of great promontories which run out into the Ægean, including within their protecting walls deep inlets and gulfs, which penetrate far into the land. The gulf of Cos is seventy miles in depth. That of Jasus, on the north, and the great inlet between Miletus and Priene are almost equally capacious. Here were the suggestions of an early maritime and commercial development. Beyond the coast line were numerous islands, many of which were separated from the mainland by only narrow straits. Here lay the great islands of Rhodes and Cos, while Symi, Telos, Leros, Calymnos, Patmos and many others were at no great distance from the shore.

Place and physical character of Caria; the littoral islands.

The civil and political development of Caria was not strikingly different from that of the northern states, but the ethnography introduces new elements. The race descent of the Carians was doubtless originally common with that of the Lydians, Phrygians, and Cappadocians—that is to say, Aryans; but the departure was greater. Here, moreover, we are plainly under the lines of Semitic and Hamitic influences. The effect of these streams of population winding around the Mediterranean out of Syria was to give to the Carians a more composite character than we have discovered in the northern countries of Asia Minor.

Ethnic descent and development of the Carians.



CARIAN LANDSCAPE.—Cape Ducato.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

Herodotus, in his garrulous style, derives the Carians from Father Car, thus associating them with the Lydians and Mysians. It is only another specimen of the three-son method of accounting

for the existence of diverging races. In general, the ancient historians speak of the Carians as a different race from the Lycians and Phrygians. Authentic annals give no account of the origin of any of these peoples. The primitive tribes inhabiting the Carian coast and the outlying islands by the Greeks were called Leleges. They were said to have been subject to Minos, King of Crete. They had an early reputation as sailors and adventurers by sea. We have seen that the Bithynians were thought to have been planted by a reflex movement out of Thrace. The Greek tradition gives a similar account of the Carians, who were said to have been driven from their insular position by the Hellenes and compelled to establish themselves on the mainland of Caria.

The three-son story of Herodotus; insular influences.

FRAGMENT OF THE FRIEZE OF THE MAUSOLEUM HALICARNASSEUM.
From the original in British Museum.

These reflex movements may be taken with much allowance. The greater likelihood is that the Carians came with the advance of the Aryan races from the East, and that they were subsequently intermixed not only with an aboriginal population, but with Semites and Hamites, who traversed these regions and planted colonies. It is not unlikely that the Greek tradition of an insular origin for the Carian race was attributable to the wars which the Dorian Greeks had with the Carians early in the historical era. It was on this part of the coast that the Dorians established themselves in a number of colonial cities, known as the Hexapolis, or Dorian Confederation, somewhat famous in after times. Three of these cities were in the island of Rhodes, and the other three on the mainland. The latter were Cos, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus, all of them celebrated seats of intercourse and commerce during the classical ages.

Interpretation of the legends; Dorian confederation.

From the land-side cities of the Dorians the Greek population gradually spread along the coast and then subordinated the whole country; but the Carians maintained an independent existence in the interior, and were recognized as a distinct race to a late day. At the present time the mountain regions in the eastern parts of Caria are inhabited by a people who call themselves Xebeks, who are believed to be the modern descendants of the ancient people. They are said to preserve certain distinguishing marks, traits of character, manners, and customs which are so clearly in analogy with those of the primitive race as to leave little doubt that the existing tribes are the descendants of the old Carians.

The Greek ascendency; race origin of the Xebeks.

APHRODITE.
From a medal of Cnidus

If from the southwestern angle of Asia Minor we pass eastward along the Mediterranean coast, we shall traverse the ancient states of Lycia, Pisidia,

Pamphylia, Lycaonia, and Cilicia, at the eastern borders of which we touch Syria, and are lost in the Semitic countries. There is perhaps no region of the earth an ethnic classification of whose ancient and modern peoples would be more difficult on general principles than that which we here traverse from Halicarnassus to Antioch.

Semitic border of Asia Minor; descent of the Lycians.

Among the different races lying along this coast, perhaps the Lycians were the most important. The country is a promontory, or at most a peninsula, held in place on the north by the ridge of Taurus. Herodotus says that the primitive people dwelling here were the Termilæ; and for once the assertion of the Father of History is verified by the inscriptions of the country; for the native name *Tramilæ* has been recovered from stone slabs and architraves in the country. The story of Herodotus gives also the name of the aborigines, who were called Milyans, and we may accept this also as correct. But the Cretan origin which he assigns for the Lycians must be rejected, as well as his other reference to an ancestor named Lycus, son of Pandion.

The Lycians have a singular political history. They were able in the first ages to defend themselves against the growing power of the Lydians. They succeeded in maintaining their independent existence during the whole Lydian ascendency, and when that country yielded to the Persians and became a satrapy in the empire, the Lycians stood up against the armies of Cyrus with a courage that would have done credit to the Greeks. At last, however, they were subdued by Harpagus, the general of Cyrus; but their final resistance, when they were hemmed in to their capital city of Xanthus, was memorable and heroic.

Political career of the race; the Lycian antiquities.

Within the present century the attention of antiquaries and ethnologists has been turned with special interest to the monuments of the ancient Lycian race. The country has been found to be unusually rich in remains of a prehistoric civilization. In the years 1838–40 Sir Charles Fellows made explorations through Lycia, and called the attention of the British Government to the country as a splendid field for antiquarian research. An expedition was accordingly sent out, and the British Museum has been enriched with a great addition of valuable memorials from Lycia. These have been drawn for the most part from the sepulchral monuments of the country.

The relics are among the most interesting which have been recovered from Asia Minor. There is found among the sculptures and architectural remains a strong likeness to the art of the Greeks, but in addition to this a certain native style of building and decoration has been discovered, which is said to possess features remarkably like those of the Elizabethan era in England. In addition to the tombs which were opened by the English antiquarians, many ancient Lycian theaters were explored and their character determined. These are in close analogy with the amphitheaters of the Greeks, and the inscriptions are also Greek in their sentiment and style.

Deductions from architectural remains and inscriptions.

ANTIQUE VESSEL AND MEDAL OF LYCIA. From a vase in the Cabinet of Medals, National Library.

But far more valuable than any deductions from the architectural remains

of the Lycians are the linguistic discoveries which the inscriptions have furnished. These are in the native language of the country. The characters employed are of a kind hitherto unknown; but fortunately for the information of mankind, several inscriptions were bilingual, one of the languages being Lycian and the other Greek. The latter has been deciphered with little difficulty and a translation thus obtained of the original Lycian. The circumstance is exactly similar to that of the famous Rosetta Stone of Egypt, which first gave to scholars the true clue to the hieroglyphics. A restoration has been effected of a considerable portion of the native language of Lycia, and the striking feature discovered is that the vernacular speech of the country was *in close analogy with Zend*, thus fixing its origin in the Aryan stem. The discovery is of extreme importance, as it has tended more than any other single fact to determine the race character of the ancient populations of Western Asia Minor.

Bilingual tablets lead to a knowledge of the language.

The Lycian language, thus in some slight measure restored, was also in affinity with the Greek. There had evidently been, before the development of the written system, a mingling of the two races. In the restoration of the Lycian alphabet it was found that twenty-four of the letters had been formed after Greek models; that is, they appeared to be only variations from the established uncial forms of Old Greek. It was discovered, moreover, that the alphabet and the dialect itself lay close alongside the Dorian variety of the Hellenic speech. Dorian is the most antique dialect of the Greek. So it is evident that the relationship between Lycian and Greek was established at a period very remote. In the case of such discovery, however, it must always be borne in mind that the relative priority of the two tongues is still an open question. Was Lycian a derivative of Dorian, or vice versa? Back of this question even lies the other more important one, Were not both languages derived from a common tribal vernacular far more archaïc than either? In fact, of all conjectures, the latter is most reasonable and most in accord with what we know of other similar instances of derivation.

Strong likeness of the Lycian language to Old Greek.

We have here, then, in the extreme southwest of peninsular Asia a people who are evidently of Aryan descent. Though they were maritime; though they lay directly under the lines by which all the primitive Syrian tribes would make their way into Europe, whether by land or sea; though they were out of the direct path of the Western Aryans en route for the archipelago and continental Europe; though they were held from that pathway by the ridge of Taurus; nevertheless, some branch of the primitive stock made its way of old into the Lycian promontory, and gave a fundamental ethnic character to the people who were afterwards developed therein.

The Lycians classified ethnically by means of language.

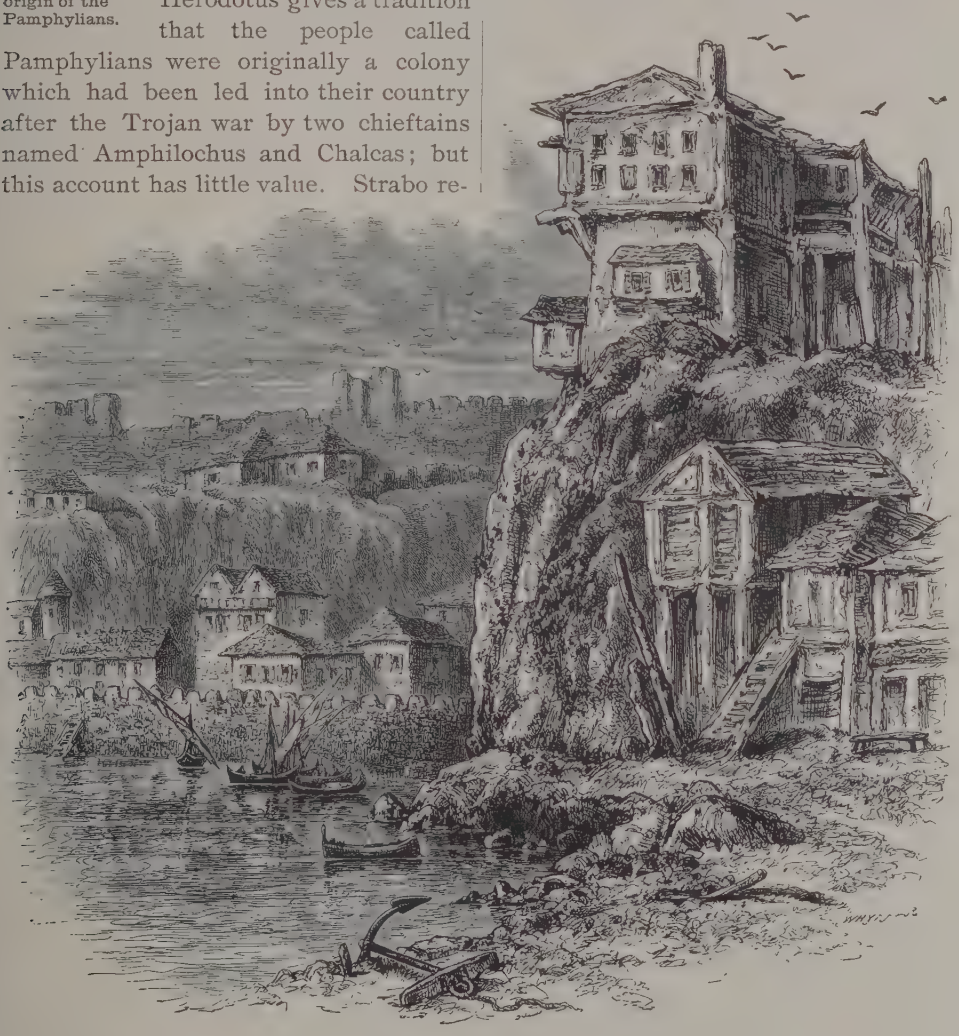
The reader who glances even casually at these circumstances can not fail to observe the exceeding value of linguistic information in determining the race dispersion of ancient tribes and peoples. In fact, without this unmistakable linguistic trace it would have been impossible for modern scholars, in the face of tradition and ancient lore and fixed opinion and superstition itself, to determine with scientific accuracy in what

Great value of linguistic science in ethnology and history.

way and into what parts the families of men were originally distributed.

Passing eastward from Lycia we enter Pamphylia, a narrow coast country, well known to the ancients. Herodotus gives a tradition that the people called Pamphylians were originally a colony which had been led into their country after the Trojan war by two chieftains named Amphilochus and Chalcas; but this account has little value. Strabo recites the same story. Coins recovered from some Pamphylian cities have been noticed to bear inscriptions in letters resembling Greek, but the language was evidently a barbarous dialect. The Pamphylians were not known in ancient times as an independent nation. Little mention of them is found before the age of Crœsus, when Lydian conquest was extended over all the adjacent countries of Asia Minor, Pamphylia with the rest.

Tradition of the origin of the Pamphylians.



VIEW OF ATTALEIA.—From a sketch of C. J. Danford.

At a later period, when the Roman ascendency had extended over Western Asia, Pamphylia, in common with Cilicia, was a seat of piratical power sufficiently portentious to give alarm even to

The country a seat of piracy; mixed race character.

Rome. It is now believed that the Pamphylian seaport town of Side was the principal nest of those freebooters who

KURDISH WARRIOR OF BORG—MODERN CILICIAN.—TYPE.
Drawn by J. Laurens, from nature.

for a long time terrorized every nation around the Mediterranean. Of the language, traditions, and arts of the Pamphylians little is known. Though we may ascribe to them an Aryan origin, it is likely that the interfusion of Semitic peoples was here more considerable than in Lycia and the Western states.

Of the Pisidians, the next people toward the east, no mention is made by Herodotus. Nor are they enumerated as among the races subjected by the Lydians and afterwards by the Persians. There is no separate classification of Pisidian troops in the army of Xerxes, but at a later period they furnish the occasion for the expedition of Cyrus the Younger into Asia. Xenophon, in the *Anabasis*, relates that the Pisidians, by constant aggression upon their neighbors, brought on a conflict in which the Greeks of Asia Minor, and finally the Spartans, participated. This drew into that country the army of Greeks, of which Xenophon himself was a soldier, the ostensible object of Cyrus being to put down the Pisidians, while his real object was the crown of his brother, Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Meager knowledge of Pisidians; Xenophon's narrative.

Of the tribal descent and ethnic connections of the Pisidians nothing is known. Some ethnographers have thought them to be identical with the Milyans of Homer, while others have referred their origin to the ancient Solymi; but Strabo declares that the languages of the Solymi and the Pisidians were distinct. The country was a mountainous region, and several ancient tribes were known to dwell in the fastnesses, the principal of which were the Cabali and the Milyans.

Little known of ethnic relationships or history of the race.

The same uncertainty exists relative to the ethnic character of the Cilicians. At the present time the fertile plains of this province are overrun with hordes of Turcomans and Kurds, and the country is devoted to pastoral and nomadic

Cilician race in like obscurity; the Syrian border.

pursuits; but these circumstances furnish but little clue to the character of the ancient inhabitants. If we are to accept the assertion of Herodotus, that Cilicia extended on the east to the river Euphrates, it is manifest that the population would be Semitic; and it can not be doubted that a large percentage of this stock, that is, of the Aramaïc branch thereof, had entered the Cilician country.

RUINS OF ANCYRA GALATIA.—After Charles Texier

We are here, however, on the borders of Syria and may, on general principles, expect a decline in Aryan influence. The coast region from Pamphylia to Antioch is separated on the north from Lycaonia and Cappadocia by mountain ranges, and for this reason is less likely to have received a primitive population of Aryans. It was these shores, with their numerous inlets, bays, and obscure rivers that furnished, during the latter years of the Roman republic, a nest for the piratical empire, for the overthrow of which Pompey the Great was finally sent out, to the imminent hazard of the Roman fleets and his own military reputation.

The remaining province of Asia Minor, as it existed in the classical times, is Galatia, an inland country lying east of Phrygia. Its position in the ethnic scheme of Western Asia is anomalous. Perhaps no other country, ancient or modern, has re-

Anomalous position of Galatia; its ancient inhabitants.

IONIAN CITY OF ZANTE.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

ceived its leading population under circumstances so extraordinary. Originally Galatia was included, at least in part, with Phrygia. There can be little doubt that in common with the other countries of Asia Minor there were aborigines in these regions whom the Aryans overcame in their migrations westward. No doubt Galatia had at one time a population of Aryan extraction. The geographical position of the country would seem to forbid any other conclusion, but the strange fact in the ethnic history of the country is the incoming of a Gallic, that is a Celtic, race from the West.

It was this Gallic invasion of 277 B. C. which gave the name to the country. It appears that a great body of Celts, turning back from the western parts of Europe, as we have shown in the former book, came upon Northern Greece, under the leadership of their great chieftain, Brennus, and reduced the northern countries to their sway. One division of these invaders crossed over into Asia Minor and made their way into the center of the peninsula, where they settled into permanent occupancy. The race was divided into three tribes, the Trocmi, the Tectosages, and the Tolistobogii, distributed respectively in the eastern, the central, and the western parts of Galatia. They became a nation detached from their own ethnic stem by a geographical space of nearly two thousand miles. The national development was strong and substantial, and the nation was sufficiently robust to interpose a strong barrier against the progress of the Roman empire in the East.

Story and results of the Gallic invasion.

We have now considered all the leading peoples of Asia Minor with the exception of the Greek colonists of the coast. Of the establishment of these peoples in the places where we find them in the dawn of the historical era we shall have occasion to speak in the following chapter. To what extent, historically speaking, these Greek colonies —Æolia, Ionia, and Doria—were the result of the growth of an original people common with the Greeks, distributed along the eastern shore of the Ægean, and to what extent they resulted from a later colonization, as the Greek historians would have us believe, it is impossible to determine. Doubtless both movements coöperated in peopling the coast, as well as the adjacent islands, with races of Hellenic descent.

Traditional origin of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor.

The spread of the Aryans westward from Armenia through peninsular Asia, and their establishment there in many states of comparatively small dimensions and not of much historical importance, well illustrates the nature of that general diffusion by which the world has been peopled. It also shows in strong light a race tendency of the Western Aryans, as distinguished from their kinsmen who migrated eastward from the original seats. The west-bound nations broke up, conformed to the geographical environment, took on a multifarious development which has for each its own line of evolution and race character, until the resulting peoples exhibited even within narrow territorial limits great diversity in institutions and languages.

Diffusion of mankind illustrated in the spread of the Greeks.

Asia Minor illustrates well this principle of ethnic growth. It also foretokens what we are now prepared to consider, the conspicuous example of race expansion in the Hellenic family. Western Asia Minor slopes off into Hellenic conditions, and at the coast exhibits features scarcely distinguishable from those presented by the Greek peoples of the archipelago and the mainland of Hellas.

CHAPTER XLV.—ABORIGINES OF HELLAS.

IT has been remarked that the ethnologist and historian are absolutely baffled in the attempt to discover the beginnings of tribal life in any quarter of the world. There are always suggestions of *a lower stratum* underlying the first ascertainable movements of man on the earth. The first people find another people before them, and these if they could be interrogated, would find still another. The races of men have thus been successively superimposed, and we are obliged to be content with the discovery of what is only *approximately* the aboriginal state of man.

Nowhere are these facts more clearly verified than in primitive Europe. We are able to discover indistinctly the first tribes of the Aryan race on this continent. The movement was migratory, wave following wave from the East. With the help of the historic imagination we can trace many imperfect outlines of the incoming and distribution of the ancestors of the Greeks and Romans, the Teutons and the Celts. But while investigating this dim period in remote human history, we come, ever and anon, upon the vestiges of preceding races. Europe was not only habitable, but inhabited by many peoples long before the first man of our own ancestral stock touched the shores this side of the Ægean and the Hellespont. This epoch of pre-Aryan history opens up a vista of facts and surmises the investigation of which will, perhaps, never be satisfactory to the inquirer. Too much has been lost of this early estate of man to admit of any complete delineation of his life and manners; only vestiges remain.

Primitive Europe shows the universality of aborigines.

The attempt will be made in the present chapter to note some of the most primitive aspects of life which are dimly outlined in the prehistoric ages in the southeastern peninsula of Europe. It was known—well known—to the Greeks themselves that another people had preceded them in Hellas and the Ægean islands. Like knowledge was possessed by the Latin gens relative to the pre-historic peoples of Central Italy. Neither the Greeks nor the Latins, however, were at all disposed to dwell upon the character and manner of life of the peoples that preceded them in their respective countries. The early Hellenic historians and philosophers gloze the matter over, devoting their whole energies to the glorification of their own ancestry and passing by as barbarous the achievements of the other peoples with whom they had come into contact on entering the country.

Greeks and Romans ignore their precedent races.

The historical and archæological investigations which have been carried forward by patient industry and under the guidance of scientific methods, in the present century, have thrown much light on the period which we are now to examine. But many things still remain obscure. One of the points still undetermined is the race affinity of the primitive peoples of Hellas and Italy with the great Celtic race distributed in the western parts of Europe. The Celts are, of course, of Aryan descent, being allied in their ultimate ancestry with the

Question of the race affinity of the Hellenic aborigines.

ASPECT OF INSULAR EUROPE FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN.—Corfu and Citadel.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

Greeks, the Romans, and the Teutonic races. But it is not known whether the primeval tribes which were found by the immigrating Hellenes and Latins in their respective peninsulas were of the same stock with the Celts or of a totally different descent. Some ethnologists have been disposed to regard the Pelasgians of Greece and Italy—which people we are now to consider—as the earliest local results of the Celtic immigration into Europe; that is, it is held that the incoming Celts *dropped* certain of their tribes in the Hellenic peninsula, and afterwards still others in Central Italy, while the more radical and restless branches of the race pressed on to the west, until they found insuperable barriers to further progress in Spain, in Gaul, and in Britain.

Greek Pelasgians the probable residue of the Celtic migration.

The idea is that the Greek Pelasgians were themselves of a common substance with the Celtic wave which overspread at first the southern parts of Europe and afterwards the western and northwestern regions of the continent. Other historians have held, with perhaps equal grounds of confidence, the opinion that the pre-Hellenic as well as the pre-Italic peoples of the southern peninsulas were of a totally different stock from the Celts, and that they were deduced either from a Semitic source, by way of Phœnicia and the East, or that they were of Hamitic origin, being allied with the Egyptians and the Cushites. The question remains undecided, and the reader is obliged to content himself with the statement rather than the solution of the problem.

But the Pelasgians were nevertheless a fact—the great fact in the primitive history of the Grecian peninsula. The extent and dispersion of their tribes through the country can not be well ascertained, but the principal seats of the race are well known. When the first Hellenic tribes, drifting into Greece by way of the Ægean islands or down through Thrace from their former home in the highlands of Phrygia, touched the mainland, they found the older people there before them. The extent and variety of the wars by which the Pelasgians were jostled from their settlements, displaced, driven back to the remote and mountainous parts of the country have no authentic record—scarcely the outline of a tradition. None the less, such a dispossession of Greece actually took place, and the Hellenes became dominant, planting the germs of a new development in the country.

Obscurity of Pelasgian displacement by the Greeks.

The Greek authors give incidental sketches of the character and manner of life of the people that preceded them. They are described as barbarians, and perhaps the epithet is justified as it relates to the Pelasgic race in most parts of the peninsula. But in some districts the people had made considerable progress toward the civilized condition. The western seat of this Pelasgic development, indeed the national center of the aggregation of tribes, was at Dodona, in Epirus. The fame which this locality acquired and ever afterwards maintained was traceable to the fact that the place was the nucleus of the Pelasgian traditions and religion. Here the Dodonian Zeus was worshiped by the primitive race with such solemnity that the Greeks adopted the cult of their predecessors.

Greek sketches of their predecessors; the Pelasgic Zeus.

It is well known to what extent the superstitions of Dodona afterwards entered into the general mythology and religious ceremonials of the Greeks. The situation was very similar to that which,

OAKS OF DODONA.—Drawn by H. Clerget, after a sketch of M. H. Belle.

many centuries later, was present in Britain, where the old Druidical ceremonial, having its center and virtue in the oak woods, perpetuated itself into the epoch of the Saxons. The Hellenes, however, were more willing to accept previous beliefs and practices than were the stubborn Teutonic barbarians of our ancestral island.

The Dodonian cult enters into Greek mythology.

The Pelasgians, at least the frontier tribes, are described as a barbarous people of the woods. They were shaggy hunters, rough in manners, and truculent in character. As late as the times of Homer references to the primitive people of Epirus and Achaia are common in poetry and story; and there is always a touch of contempt for the barbarous life of the people referred to. The Achæans, whose name among the cultured Greeks was a synonym of barbarity, were supposed to be a mixed race, deducing many of their elements from the original Pelasgic tribes.

Barbarous character of the Epirotes and Achæans.

If Dodona and the west were the principal seat of Pelasgic tradition and mythology, the east and south of Hellas were the center of progress and power. It was in the Peloponnesus that the best development of the Pelasgic race occurred. But in other parts of the peninsula, as far north as Thessaly, in portions of Bœotia, in Attica itself, the remains of this old race are abundantly discoverable. Such remains are truly monumental. The Pelasgians, in their own day, had what may be called an international fame. They were known to the Egyptians, and are mentioned many times in the sculptures of the Nile valley. The Egyptian philosophers were wont to claim kin with the Pelasgians of the Ægean islands and the mainland, and to patronize them on account of their skill as builders. It is in the latter regard that the Pelasgic race has its fame with posterity.

Evidences of Pelasgian ascendency in Southern Hellas.

Underlying the monumental remains of the Hellenic race in Greece and Ionia, and in places distant from the seat of that magnificent people, are the remains of another people, who were in some degree the fathers of Hellenic architecture. It is as masons, as builders in stone, that the Pelasgians have astonished all succeeding peoples, and as late as the last quarter of the nineteenth century the astonishment has been intensified by a more careful and scientific examination of the ruins left behind by the primitive builders of Pelasgia.

Superiority of the race as builders manifested in Argos.

Perhaps the most remarkable of these monumental remains are those found in the ancient state of Argos, in Southern Greece. This territory seems to have been the seat of the military power of the Pelasgians. The ancient capital was Tiryns, a short distance from the more recent Argive capital. The ancient city was not only the center of population, but a military acropolis. It was situated on a rocky elevation in the marshy plain of Argolis, three miles from the sea. Tradition among the Greeks chatted about the founders of this stronghold and the date of its founding. The work was said to have been done by the hero Proteus, who preceded by some generations the hero Perseus in Greece.

Situation of Tiryns; fame of its masonry.

Tiryns was said to have been the early home of Hercules. But it is not with tradition but with fact that we have here to deal. And the tremendous fact under consideration is the massive masonry which remains to this day in attestation of the skill and power of the primitive builders. So heavy is the stone

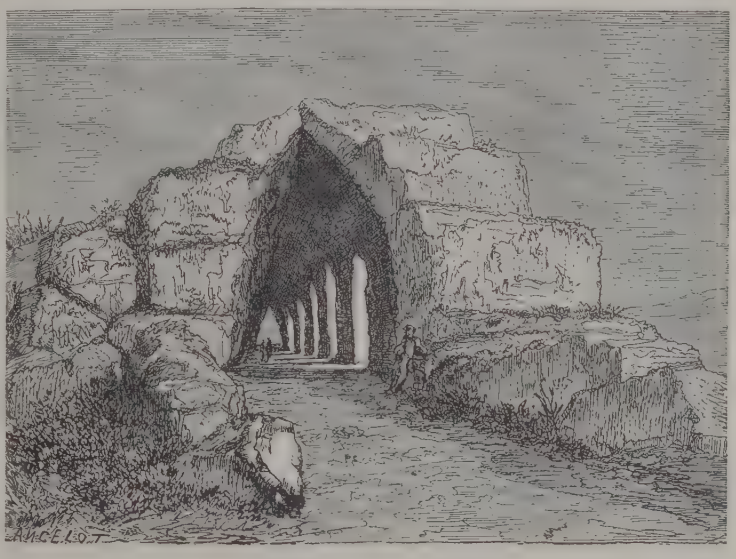
work of these ruins that Pausanius did not hesitate to compare the fortifications for massiveness with the pyramids of Egypt. It was current among the Greeks that the gigantic Cyclopes were the builders of the Tirynthian walls which were thought too great to be the work of mortality. To this day the name *Cyclopean* preserves the ancient tradition of the ruins.

Attempts have been made to fix the date of the time of the city of Tiryns and the Pelasgian ascendency in Greece. It may be safely stated that the same occurred not later than the eleventh century before our era. The fortifications, the palace, and other public buildings of Tiryns continued to exist until 468 B. C., when the Hellenic Argives of the neighboring city of Argos succeeded in destroying and partly obliterating the old Pelasgian capital. During the period of Grecian ascendency the old race and its architectural ruins were first ignored and then forgotten. It has remained for recent times to explore the memorials of pre-Hellenic greatness, and to describe them with scientific accuracy.

Date and vicissitudes of the city.

The rocky elevation on which the citadel of Tiryns was built has a length of three hundred and thirty yards and a breadth of one hundred and twelve yards at its widest part. This area is encompassed with a wall which, for massiveness, is hardly surpassed by any ancient or modern masonry. The wall is from thirty to forty feet in thickness, and was originally about fifty feet in height. The method of building was skillful in the last degree, and was in close analogy with the massive stonework, to be hereafter described, on the plateau of the Andes, in South America. The stones employed were so massive that Pausanius says that the lightest of them would be a load for a yoke of mules. The outside stones were cut and dovetailed into each other in a manner most ingenious, and with special reference to securing immovability in the structure. In the outer layers no dependence was placed on mortar or any like artificial means of binding together. All depended on the masonry proper. The interior of the wall, however, was made up of stones which were held in place by mortar and by the cut stonework with which they were braced on both sides.

Dimensions and massive ramparts of Tiryns.



AN ENTRANCE WAY AT TIRYNS.

The stones in this great monument are dressed with hammers, and the work is done with astonishing accuracy. Through

the wall there was one great gateway, which is believed to have resembled what Schliemann has called the Lion's Gate, at Mycenæ. There were other passages through the walls, but they were narrow and easily defended. Within the great circumvallation here described the citadel was divided into parts by cross walls almost as massive as those of the circumference. Within the inclosures thus formed the outlines of several important structures have been determined. The foundations of the royal palace have been made out and the plan of structure ascertained. The building was surrounded by a stone rampart, and within this was another, everything being arranged with respect to seclusion and defense. There was a main gate defended by a tower, and from this there was a passage extending to an inner gate, and thence to the courts of the palace. There was a great court, fifty-three by seventy feet in dimensions, in which an altar was erected, with a pit or arena alongside to receive the blood of the sacrificial victims.

Character of the stone work and passages.

PELASGIAN MASONRY.—Wall of Tiryns.

It appears that the colonnade about the palace was of wood. The hall within had dimensions of forty by thirty feet, with a great circular hearthstone in the center. On one side of the hall were a number of chambers intended for the occupants of the palace or for

Particular features and style of the palace.

guests. One series of apartments were for women and another for men. There were staircases leading to the upper floors, and the usual details peculiar to royal abodes. On the top of the surrounding wall was a colonnade of wooden pillars, each resting on a circular block of stone. Upon these pillars

VIEW OF MYCENÆ.

was constructed a flat roof, which was open toward the inside of the city.

Another peculiar feature of the Pelasgian building was the use of stucco and of sun-dried bricks in the less important parts of the walls. The columns and doorposts were of wood, and it is in evidence that many of the rooms were ceiled with the same material. The holes in the interior of the wall where the dowels were inserted for the support of the ceiling are still plainly seen. The doors were hung on hinges of bronze, and many of the cuplike sockets in the lintels are still in place. Specimens of the ornamentation are found, exhibiting excellent work as to pattern and execution. The designs include birds and animals and scroll work done in imitation of the semi-Oriental styles prevalent in Asia Minor. A part of a frieze executed in white alabaster has been recovered and preserved. It consists of rosettes in relief and various vinelike patterns, studded with pieces of blue glass and enamel.

It is evident from the whole ruin, from its massiveness, its strength, its

elegance of design within, and its elaboration of details that the Pelasgians as builders in stone and wood had reached a very high degree of excellence, worthy indeed to be compared with the greatest architects of ancient or modern times, and this at a date before the first impulses of Hellenic migration had been felt in the Ægean islands or on the mainland of Greece. The brief notice here given of the monumental remains at the old Pelasgic city of Tiryns covers nearly all that is known of the architecture and skill of the people.

Deductions from character of royal buildings and citadel.

PELASGIC ART—GOLD MASK FOUND BY SCHLIEMANN AT MYCENÆ.

The usual inferences may be drawn from the existence of such a city and citadel. It was evidently a stronghold of the race. The palace included within the walls was certainly royal in its design and use. About the fortified part of the city doubtless lay spread the less important dwellings and marts of the people. There has always been a correlation between the public and private edifices of a given age and people. The former are more majestic and permanent; the latter soon go down to the indiscriminate dust. The existence of such a capital as Tiryns implies opposing powers. It may be that the military significance of the place bears evidence only of the tribal struggles which were going on for the mastery of the peninsula, but the greater likelihood is that foreign states across the Ægean and even the Mediterranean were the powers contemplated when the Tirynthian walls were built.

Cyclopean remains in other parts of Greece.

Not only in Argos, but in Attica, even on the site of Athens herself, similar Cyclopean remains have been discovered. In Bœotia, and far north in Thessaly, the outlines of pre-Hellenic stonework may be found here and there, furnishing abundant evidence of the wide distribution of the Pelasgic race. Though these ruins give to modern times the most tangible and indisputable proofs of the existence and work of such a people as the Pelasgians in the Grecian peninsula, their real influence in subsequent times doubtless lay in the modification which they effected in the character of the Grecian race.

It is one of the most interesting inquiries with which the ethnologist has to deal to determine the influence of a subject people on their conquerors. Such influence varies very greatly with different races and in different epochs of history.

In general, the remnants of the Latin race widely distributed in Europe, exercised a strong reäction on the barbarians who overran the country between the fifth and the eighth century of our era. In some cases, however, as in the Saxon conquest of Britain, scarcely a vestige of the original people could be discovered in the subsequent race development of the island. In the case of the incoming of the Hellenes into Greece, and the formation therein of their petty democracies and aristocracies, and the consequent evolution of a peculiarly brilliant nationality, it is doubtless true that the original Pelasgic tribes contributed largely to the creation of the new Greek character. Certain it is that some parts of their religion entered into union with and became almost dominant over the imported mythology of the Greeks, and it is also certain that their skill as builders suggested the subsequent architecture of the Hellenes. The masonry of Mycenæ and of the other great towns of the Heroic Age was copied from the older work of the Pelasgians, and is indeed only a later and completer development of the original system of stone-cutting and structure. The Pelasgic masons were the fathers and school teachers of the great builders of the Doric era in Greece.

Possible influence of Pelasgians on the Hellenes.

CHAPTER XLVI.—HELLENIC TRIBES AND THE ENVIRONMENT.

IN entering upon the race history of Europe two methods present themselves to our choice. In the first place, we may take our stand in the currents of those migrations by which Europe was first peopled by the Aryan races, and may follow the various tribes and nations in the order of their evolution into the civilized condition. This involves the determination of the question of priority. Which was the oldest of the Aryan families on the European continent? Which was first to arrive and to plant itself in permanent form? Did the Celts precede the Græco-Italic race? Did the northern stream of migration discharge its volume into the West at an earlier epoch than did the southern? Were the Teutones the oldest or the youngest born of the great ethnic family? If this first method of inquiry be adopted, all of these questions must be settled in order that we may follow the streams of migration in their natural course to their natural destination.

Question of priority among the European Aryans.

In the second place, it is practicable to take up the various races of Europe in the order of their historical development; that is, we may consider first those nations which present the earliest complete activities within the historical era, and pass from these to those of a later date. That is we may begin with the Græco-Italic race in the southern peninsulas of the continent and notice, first of all, their successive expansions into national forms; and afterwards we may pass to the countries north of the Alps and take up the later evolution of the Teutonic, the Slavonic, and the Celtic families.

These races considered in order of historical development.

On the whole, the latter method is to be preferred. We have already arrived on our westward course at the Ægean islands. It is but a step to the mainland of Greece, another step to Italy, and still another to the North. Historically, this is the order in which the great races of Europe have presented themselves. It is not, therefore, so much a question of the relative priority of the original tribes which gave a primitive population to the continent as it is of priority and natural sequence among the civilized races. We shall therefore adopt the order of the historical progress among the European families rather than what may be supposed to have been the migratory procession by which the original tribes were distributed into the countries west of the Bosphorus.

We shall thus begin with the Hellenic tribes and nations. It is difficult to determine precisely how much the words *Greek* and *Hellen* should include in ethnography. It may be safely assumed that the oldest seat of the race was in the Ægean islands and along the western shore of Asia Minor. We speak here of the first period of conscious life among the Greeks, and not of the mere diffusion of barbarous tribes. All the Ægean archipelago was Greek. The eastern coast was essentially Greek as far north as the Hellespont. Hellas Proper was Greek, and the Peloponnesus. This is said of the country as far west as the northernmost limits of Epirus.

What the ethnic terms Greek and Hellen should include.

ISLE OF SCIO.—A Stepping-stone of the Greek Migration.—Drawn by MacWhirter.

It is on the north that one of the boundaries of ancient Hellenism seems most uncertain. Were the Thracians Greek? and afterwards the Macedonians? If we follow the line of migra-

tion out of the Phrygian highlands and assume that the tribes would effect their passage at the Bosphorus, we come naturally into Thrace and afterwards into Macedonia. Of the aborigines of these northern regions history knows nothing. Respecting the peoples whom the Aryan tribes may have found in the region between the Hellespont and Thessaly, conjecture gropes blindly; and we have little evidence as to the extent to which the restless Hellenes took possession of the country on their way to the south.

Difficulty of knowing the race descent of the Thracians.

The question here before us suggests a notice of what were certainly two of the principal routes by which the Greek immigrants gained footing in their future home. There can be no doubt that a people essentially Hellenic were carried forward by the general movement of the races to the western shores of Asia Minor and into the adjacent islands. This movement continued across the archipelago into Greece. It was doubtless the first distribution of a truly Hellenic population from Phrygia and the East. The second migrations were later in date. These came by way of the Hellespont and Thrace into Greece from the north; and it is thought that the immigrants doubled back into the archipelago and distributed themselves along with older Hellenes already in partial possession of the Ægean islands. The Ionian Greeks did not cross into Europe, but extended themselves down the coast, and we may believe that the earliest conscious buddings forth of Greek civilization were out of Ionia. It is safe, on the whole, to include the peoples of primitive Thrace along with the Hellenes, and to regard them as a result of an ethnic distribution made by the Greeks in passing through the country to the south.

The two principal routes of the Greek incoming.

The Thracian language has wholly perished, and the monumental remains of the country have as yet thrown but little light upon the ethnic classification of the original inhabitants. They are known to have been Indo-Europeans, and to have had much in common with the Greeks of the south. As late as the middle of the period of Hellenic ascendency the Thracians were wont to be in alliance with the Athenians against the Macedonians, which proves conclusively the historical affinity of the two peoples. It is also known that the prevailing worship among the Thracians was that of Dionysus, which they had in common with the Phrygians and the Greeks.

Linguistic and monumental relics of the Thracians.

The existing monuments of the country are tumuli, of vast proportions, similar in character and purpose with the hill of Marathon. Of these tumuli, there are thousands within the limits of the Thracian territory, but as this region has corresponded for a century or more with the heart of European Turkey, science has made little progress in exploring the ancient mounds. In some of them relics have been found identical in design and workmanship with similar implements among the Romans. It has been thought by antiquaries that these remains were of the post-classical period, when the country was under Roman domination, and when later burials threw into the same mound the workmanship of a later age.

Historically, our earliest acquaintance with the Thracians shows them in the tribal condition. In the fifth century B. C. they had not yet become truly national in their development. There were lead-

Condition of the Thracians at the beginning of history.

ing tribes, and others of a subordinate character. The most powerful of these was the Odrysæ, whose king, Teres, was a conqueror in his day, extending his dominion over the larger part of Thrace. This may be referred to the middle of the fifth century B. C. It was Sitalces, son of Teres, who became an ally of the Athenians to help maintain their ascendency in the Chalcidian peninsula. The power of the Odrysæ was broken up during the reign of Seuthes, nephew of Sitalces, and the tribal condition remained with little disturbance until the rise of Macedonia.

ORPHEUS.
From the painting by Benjamin Constant; engraved by Jounard.

The five tribal names by which the Thracian peoples were distinguished were the Getæ, the Treres, the Triballi, the Daci, and the Mœsi. The student of history will readily recognize several of these ethnic names as the titles of races projecting themselves at a later period into the history of the West.

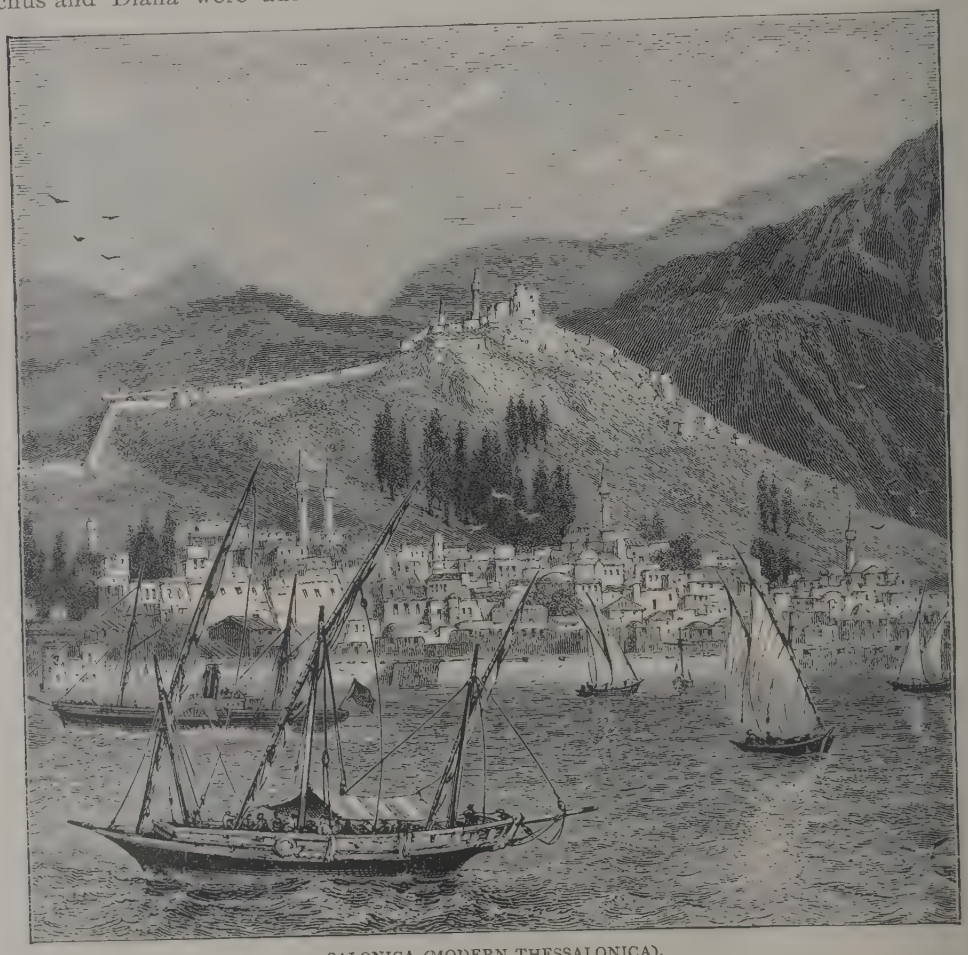
Tribal names; belief in a Scythian race descent.

It was believed, as early as the times of Herodotus, that the Thracian nations were allied in race descent with the Scythians; but there was no better ground for such belief than was found in the well-known character of the Thracians, whose ferocity in battle and savagery in peace reminded the Father of History of the Scythic barbarians. The Thracians are represented as powerful warriors. They were disposed by both nature and habit to battle, and their cruelty against the enemy was as notorious as their courage was undoubted.

PRIESTESS OF BACCHUS.—From the painting by John Collier.

The Thracian gods, like themselves, were truculent, fierce, and passionate. Besides the worship of Dionysus, already mentioned, the Thracian Mars and Bacchus and Diana were adored with the usual rites peculiar to the Aryan nations. Bacchus had an oracle on the summit of Mount Rodophe, where drunken orgies were performed after the manner of barbarians. The only touches of light among the darkness of North Hellenic barbarism were certain myths and mythical characters, the possession of which the Thracians contested with the Greeks. It was claimed that Orpheus, Musæus, and Eumolpus were Thracian heroes; but it is more likely that the Thracians had merely preserved in these characters a recollection of their Phrygian origin.

Superstition and mythology of the Thracians.



SALONICA (MODERN THESSALONICA).

Between Thrace and Hellas lay the widely extended country of Macedonia. Here again we are in great doubt as to the character of the original inhabitants. There are evidences that the Thracians, though further separated from the Hellenes of the south, were more closely

Race relationships of the primitive Macedonians.

allied with them than were the Macedonians. It is also thought that the latter people were of Illyrian descent, and that their coming into the country was by a reflex movement from the southwest; but we may safely affirm that both the Illyrians and the Macedonians were descendants of the common stock which gave the Hellenes to Southeastern Europe. It is well enough, therefore, to classify them along with the Thracians, curred; but the Macedonians were little regarded in that world-famous event.

In the *Iliad* reference is made to a country called Emathia, and this has been identified with Macedonia. Somewhat later the Greek story-tellers invented a mythical founder of the race, called Macedo, from whom the principal tribe of Macedonia was said to have been descended. Macedo was the son

Poetical tradition of Emathia and Macedo.

MACEDONIAN SOLDIERS IN PHALANX.

and to note their peculiarities in this connection.

Of no other great people of the ancient world, whose activities were so largely displayed within the historical era, are we so ignorant as of the Macedonians. They emerged into view at a late period, being unknown to the Greek historians at any age earlier than the reign of Amyntas, about 500 B. C. It was in the time of his son Alexander that the Persian invasion of Greece occurred; but the Macedonians were little regarded in that world-famous event.

Historical obscurity of the Macedonian race.

of Zeus—another example of the cloud-born ethnology of the ancients. Still later, the country was named Macetia, from the tribe of the Macetæ, and the latter word has been associated by curious ethnographers with the Hebrew Chetæ, or Kittim; but the alleged etymology is unnatural, and therefore improbable.

The name Macedonians was first applied to this people by Herodotus. We may gather from his narrative that the original home of the nation was near

Mount Pindus, whence they spread out to the northeast, intermingling with Thracian and Hellenic colonies already established in that part of the country. It is fairly to be inferred that the Macedonian race, such as it was in the times of the empire, was the result of a composition of original Illyrian tribes with Greeks and Thracians dwelling in the maritime region between Thessaly and the Chalcidian peninsula.

Story of Herodotus and inferences therefrom.

The character of the Macedonians is tolerably well displayed in the writings of the Greeks. We speak of that later character which they had after their rise to nationality and power. They differed not greatly from the Hellenes themselves in the earlier ages of their development, before the civilizing light had shined forth from Attica; but there was always a want of intellectual greatness in the Macedonian race. They rose to the level of warriors, but not to the rank of poets and sages. As compared with the Greeks, they were a stolid, heavy people, whose ideals were low as paralleled with the refined spirituality of the southern race. Even the efforts of the Macedonian emperors to import into the country the art and learning of Hellas and to make them flourish therein was a failure. The Macedonian race became known as a great political power, but not as a refining force. It was the vehicle by which the enlightenment of the Hellenes was carried into the larger part of Western Asia; but the vehicle itself did not flame with the Promethean fire.

Later character and genius of the Macedonians.

Even the language of the Macedonians has virtually perished. In the times of the empire Greek was spoken at the court; and it is likely that dialects of Greek, rude and uncultivated, were the prevailing tongues of the people; but the absence of Macedonian literature has left the matter in much doubt. There appears to have been no ethnic culture of the northern race by which it might be distinguished from the nations of Asia Minor and Hellas. On the whole, it is safe to define the Macedonians as a race of rude and half-developed northern Greeks, whose evolution into the refined activities of the artistic and literary life was stopped midway by the growth of a great political despotism, under which the energies of the people were diverted from the chisel to the sword.

Absence of literary and monumental remains.

Most of what has been said relative to the Thracians and Macedonians may be repeated of the Illyrians, the remaining race, lying north of the Hellenes. Illyria was the northwestern country of the Hellenic peninsula. Both the country and the people were in the same belt with the Macedonians; and we are obliged by all the evidences in our possession to classify the Illyrians with the Græco-Italic peoples rather than with the northern, that is, the Slavonic, branch of the Indo-Europeans. In fact, if we assume the Danube as the line of division between the northern and southern Aryans in Europe, remembering always that both nature and history abhor a line, we may assign a common ethnic origin to all the peoples on the south, and another common origin to those on the north. On the south, we have the Græco-Italic nations; on the north, the Slavo-Teutonic nations. In Hellas we must probably except the Pelasgians from the general scheme, assigning to them a different race descent; but as to the rest—Thracians, Macedonians, and Greeks—the fountain head was common.

Affinity of Illyrians with Macedonians and Thracians.

and the streams of ethnic outflow only slightly divergent in the different countries.

The Greek writers preserved the myth of the origin of the Illyrians, whom they recognized as their kinsmen. They assigned to them an illustrious beginning. Cadmus, after having given letters to the Greeks, removed with his wife, Harmonia, into the northwest of Hellas, and settled there. To him was born a son, Illyrius, ancestor of the race that bore his name. By war, the Enchelians, whom we may regard as the aborigines of Illyricum, were subdued; and then Cadmus and Harmonia were removed by the gods to Elysium. It will be remembered that Cadmus had first come, according to the legend, from the Phœnician coast in search of his sister Europa, who was lost, and that Harmonia was the daughter of Mars and Venus. This is to say that Harmony is born of War and Love, and that Cadmus found Europe when he had Harmony in the search.

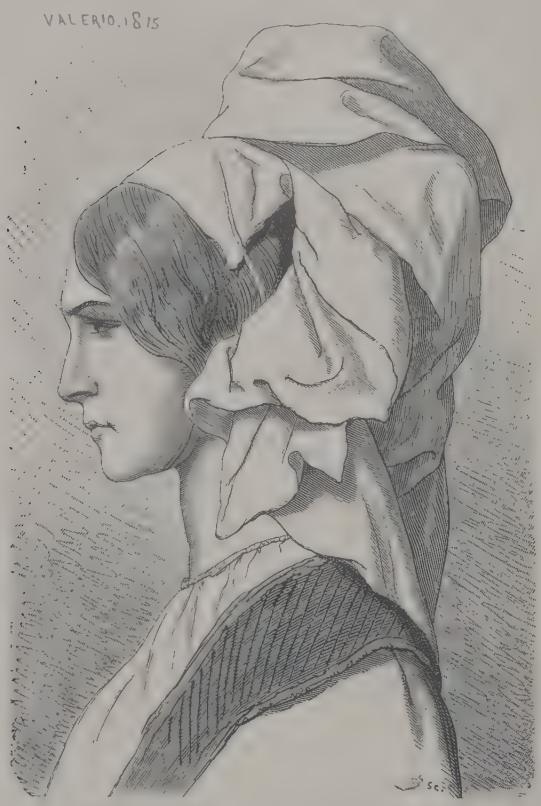
Greek myth and tradition of the race.

On the north, then, we may say that there was a clear demarkation between the Illyrians and the Slavo-Teutonic races; but southward they were graded off imperceptibly into the more active and civilized Hellenic tribes. The same want of definite division existed on the east, where they were mingled with the Macedonians. It is believed that foreign intercourse carried into Illyria many alien races, some of whom were much more enlightened than the people among whom they settled. Phœnicians, Ionians, and Dorians are said to have

Ethnic boundaries of the Illyrians; foreign admixture.

OFF THE ILLYRIAN COAST.—Sulimore Spixa.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

planted, or attempted to plant, colonies in the northwest; but, with the single exception of the Greek town Epidamnus on the coast, none of the colonies seem to have survived. Doubtless the greater attractiveness of life in Hellas Proper was the motive for withdrawing from the remote and barbarous regions of Illyria, the outposts of civilization.



MODERN ILLYRIAN TYPE—PEASANT OF SPALATO.
Drawn by Theodore Valerio.

Through their whole career the Illyrians remained in their primitive condition. They shared but little in the intellectual and commercial activity of the Greeks. Though their country was fertile, though their coasts were indented with admirable harbors, the people continued to choose the pursuits of war and barbarism. In these respects the Illyrians were closely allied with their Macedonian neighbors on the east. There was really no ethnic difference in that part of the country where the two peoples were mixed and interfused. Both races were in like manner assimilated with the Thracians, though the latter made much greater progress toward the civilized condition.

The race does not emerge; continuance of barbarism.

As a consequence, a line of separation was drawn between the barbarism of Illyria and the refinement and progress of Hellas. North of this line the old habits continued to prevail. According to the Greek historians, tattooing of the body was practiced by the Illyrian tribes as well as by the Macedonians and ruder Thracians. Their religious rites also were exceedingly barbarous, and if the testimony of the Greeks may be accepted as true, human sacrifices were offered to the gods of Illyria.

We may for these reasons be the more surprised to note the importance of women in this half-savage country. The life of woman was free and honorable. The daughters and wives of the Illyrian chieftains frequently led in war, and in peace were regarded as the equals of their brothers and husbands. The manner of life seems to have been analogous to that of the German tribes as they are described by Tacitus. According to the testimony of Greek authors, however, the Illyrian women were reckless and unchaste, differing in this regard from the women of the Teutones.

Important place of woman among the Illyrians.

The dominant characteristic of the Illyrian tribes was their passion for war. They beat for generations against the

borders of Macedonia. It was like the warfare of the Saxons with the Picts in the border region of England and Scotland. The power of Macedonia could not for a long time prevail over their barbarous enemy. Not indeed until the time of Philip was a successful conquest made of the Illyrian tribes.

Passion of the Illyrians for war.

Of art, of literature, of refinement, of that ideal progress and intellectual expansion which made the Hellenic race illustrious, the Illyrians knew nothing. The country is as poor in monumental remains as it was unimportant in history. The few relics of the civilization which Illyria affords to the antiquary belong to the period of Roman ascendency and are common with those of Italy. The causes of the continued barbarism of the Illyrians long after the Hellenes had risen to the pinnacle of civilization might be hard to discover. Doubtless they were the same as were the forces which held back the Thracians and the Macedonians from a high development. The more rigorous climate of the north and other discouraging features of the environment may have somewhat chilled the buddings of enlightenment and progress; but it is probable that the northern stock was in its instincts and dispositions averse to those high and rational activities of which the Greeks became the prime examples in all the ancient world.

Barbaric career of the race; reasons therefor.

At times the Illyrians broke out of their fastnesses and displayed their warlike passions in the south. Herodotus tells of an attempt made by them to sack the temple of Delphi. In 424 B. C., Brasidas, marching with a Spartan army across Thessaly and Macedonia, was furiously assailed by the Illyrians. Not that the latter were in sympathy with the Athenian cause, but were merely impelled by love of slaughter and spoil. A little later, however, they found their match in the Gallic tribes, who forced their way into Illyria on their way to the south. The impact was more than the barbarian warriors could stand, and they gave way to the settlement of the Gauls among them. The event here referred to is a part of that general movement of the Celts to the east and south, by which they were ultimately carried into Asia Minor and established, as already related, in the province of Galatia.

Hostile contact of the Illyrians with the Greeks.

In entering upon the ethnic history of the Greeks, we come to what may be fairly regarded the most astonishing example of human development which the history of the race has thus far afforded. Before attempting to offer any suggestion relative to the causes and circumstances of this tremendous evolution, it will be proper to note the local distribution of the people called Hellenes. In a former book we have already stated in general terms the traditional tribal divisions of the Greeks. In so far as these divisions were based upon the Hellenic tradition of their old ancestors—Helen, Æolus, Dorus, Xuthus, Ion, Achæus—the whole may be neglected as of slight value in scientific ethnography; but the great fact of the race divisions among the Greeks exists. A large part of the civil and political annals of the Greek race grew out of its separation into several groups of states based upon community or diversity of ethnic origin. We may, therefore, in the present connection look at the several groups of Hellenes as they existed in the earliest dawn of authentic history.

Importance of tribal separations among the Greeks.

There were two general divisions of

the race, the Dorians and the Ionians. These represent distinct aspects of ethnic evolution. Indeed, it might be said that they had one thing in common: they were both Hellenes. But they were Hellenes of different dates, different circumstances, different instincts. The Dorians were the oldest of the Hellenic peoples, so called. They best expressed the physical force and adventure of the Greek. If the historian were called upon to point out among all the early races of men a parallel to the restlessness and physical antagonisms of the Dorian Hellenes, he would be embarrassed with the requirement. They spread from place to place. They were still in effervescence at the beginning of the historical era. Many of their movements can be delineated from historical data, and others may be inferred by reasonable deduction and conjecture.

Division of the Hellenic race into Dorians and Ionians.

The Dorians were manifestly of a Phrygian origin. They came into Europe by way of the Bosphorus, or Hellespont, through Thrace, and thence to the south. They are considered the third wave which had spread westward in the same manner. The first was undoubtedly the movement which carried the Latins through Thrace and Illyria into the western peninsula. The second migration was that which sent the Thraco-Illyrian tribes to their destination in the countries north of Hellas. The third brought the Dorians. Their eastern origin is well preserved in the myth of Dorus, the eponymous ancestor of the race. He had for his sister, Protogeneia, meaning The Early Dawn. She was wedded to Zeus, the Gleaming Heaven. There was born a daughter, who became the mother of Aethlios. He was the Toiling Sun, and

Origin of the Dorian tribes; myth of Dorus.

GREEK TYPES.—Drawn by C. Colb.

was the father of Endymion, the Setting Sun. The genesis is clearly Oriental, and the exodus is into the West.

Historically, we find the Dorians first of all in Northern Greece. The particular portion of the country which they are said to have occupied is the southwest of the great Thessalian plain. Afterwards they are found in the country below Ossa and Olympus. Again their presence is discovered among the highlands of Pindus. It is in this region that the Father of History took note of them and recorded them under the name of Macedonians. Still, again, they removed into Dryopis, and from this point made their way into the Peloponnesus.

Apparition of the race in various parts of Greece.

It would seem that at a very early age the Dorians were well distributed in Northern Greece. Tradition has called up the sons of Hercules as the origin of the Dorian movement into the south. The Peloponnesus was claimed after the Trojan War by the Heraclidæ as their inheritance. They accordingly gathered the Dorians out of the countries north of the isthmus and bore down upon the south. There ensued a desperate struggle between the invaders and the primitive inhabitants of the country, whom we may reckon in part at least as Pelasgians. Those ethnographers who classify the latter peoples as Indo-Europeans maintain that they had settled into Peloponnesus from the north, being an offshoot from the second, or Thraco-Illyrian, migration out of Asia. After strenuous warfare the Dorians succeeded in establishing themselves firmly in three principal states of Southern Greece: Argolis, Messenia, and Laconia. Hence the development of the three Peloponnesian branches of the Dorian family: Argives, Spartans, and Messenians.

The Heraclidæ become the leaders of Dorian conquest.

It may be accepted as correct to regard Peloponnesus as the true seat of the established Dorian race. North of the peninsula, however, the Dorians continued to hold the little inland state of Doris, with its three townships,

Peloponnesus the seat of the Dorian evolution.

DORIAN GIRL, VICTOR IN THE FOOT RACE—TYPE.
Drawn by C. Colb, from an antique.

where they maintained themselves in that dogged isolation for which the race has ever been proverbial. It is remarkable that the only two inland states of all Hellas, Doris and Laconia, were both possessed and developed by Dorians; but this circumstance is hardly worthy to be reckoned among the causes of the seclusiveness and nonintercourse by which they were ever characterized.

Thus at the very beginning the Dorian race presents a contradiction. We should expect, *à priori*, a total absence of the colonizing spirit among such a people; but, on the contrary, the disposition to send out colonies was one of the strongest features of Dorian history. It was from the homesteads of these peoples that Greek colonies were in process of time sent out into different and distant quarters of the world. Corinth within the historical era planted Corcyra and Syracuse, and from these sprang in turn the colonies of Epidamnus, Ambracia, and Potidæa. The Dorians in Crete and Rhodes established Gela in Sicily; and from Gela was sent out a company who founded Agrigentum in the same island. From Megara was dispatched a colony to the Bosphorus, and there they planted Byzantium, which was destined in the course of ages to become the capital of the Eastern Cæsars and the final abode of whatever remained of the intellectual and social activity of the Græco-Italic race. So into other parts of the world the Dorians sent their colonies; and the instinct of colonization was perpetuated to the third and fourth generation of cities.

Spread and permanency of the Dorian colonies.

This, however, is to anticipate. From Peloponnesus the Dorians spread into the archipelago. It was they who contributed the Hellenic population of Crete. More than all the other Hellenes combined they spread themselves through the Ægean islands, and finally to the coast of Asia Minor. Upon this they planted themselves to the south of Ionia and set six cities along these ancient shores. These were combined—as far as anything Dorian could be combined with another—in a loose confederation, known as the Doric Hexapolis.

VIEW OF THESSALIAN COAST, FROM GULF OF VOLO.—Drawn by A. Slom, from a photograph.

Another strange aspect of the race work of these people was the persistency with which their colonies held their own when once planted afar. Rarely did one of their outposts recede from a position once taken. At the same time the

The foreign settlements preserve the Doric character.

colonial establishments of the Dorians maintained a strong likeness to the parent state. The same manners and customs, the same laws, the same policy, were upheld, the same traditions accepted, the same striking municipal individuality created in distant Asiatic and European settlements as in the Hellenic homestead. Perhaps the only considerable variation from the common type was in the case of the Spartans, whose great preponderance in Peloponnesus has led many authors to regard them as the typical people of the whole Dorian race. This view, however, has been successfully controverted; and the peculiar Spartan character, though certainly Dorian of the Dorians in its origin, has been set apart, and is to be considered as anomalous not only among their own kindred of Doric extraction, but among all the Hellenes.

RUINS OF DORIAN HALL OF COUNSEL AT RHODES.
Drawn by E. Flandin.

The migrations and conquests by which the Dorian race was thus distributed in Hellas Proper, the Peloponnesus, the Ægean islands, on the southwest coast of Asia Minor, and in foreign colonial establishments were of such character as to disturb and unsettle all previous populations with which they came into contact. The result was that those

populations were thrown the one upon the other in successive waves and were nearly all displaced from their original seats. The tribes, half-formed into states, were jostled from their position, and immediately avenged their wrongs by falling upon their neighbors. All the peoples of Greece were in a measure redistributed by the Dorian movements, and it required the lapse of several generations to bring about a settled state. Greece was full of militant tribes and of fugitives. The towns became for the time a refuge for Greek wanderers who had no other home. It was this condition of affairs that led to certain removals and colonizations by the non-Dorian Greeks, who would doubtless have remained in their seats had they not been urged therefrom by invasion.

Disturbance and displacement of the preceding Greek races.

The old Pelasgian peoples, driven out of Argolis and their other countries in the Peloponnesus, threw themselves upon the Achæans and forced them from their homes. They in turn fell upon the Ionians, who had their native seats on the Corinthian gulf. This is perhaps our first historical contact with the Ionian race. They, like the Dorians, were out of Asia Minor. It is not known certainly by what course they came into Europe. The manner of their migration has been referred to in the preceding book. It is not unlikely that the Ægean islands were the stepping-places by which the Ionians made their way to

RUINS OF THE DORIC SICYON.

The Ionian race revealed by Dorian aggressions.

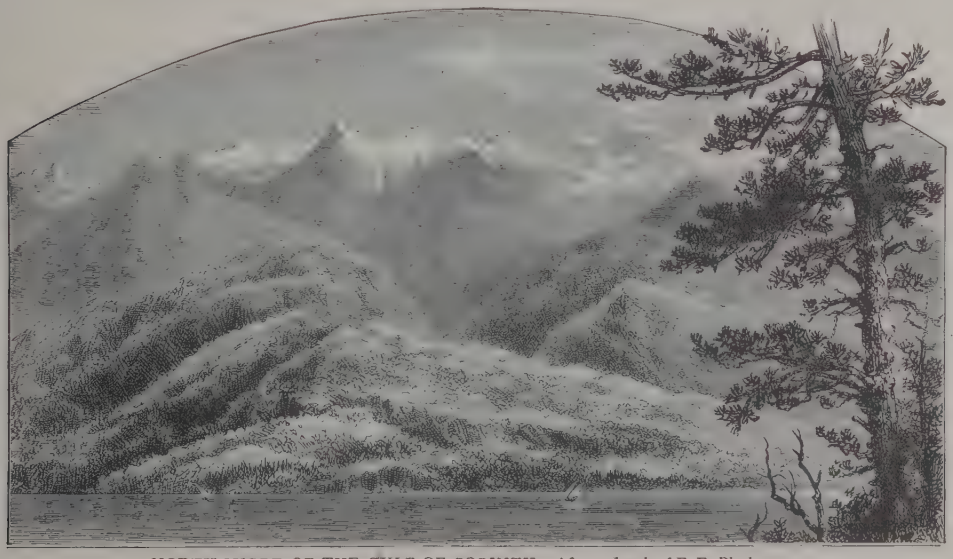
Hellas. The center of their power at the time of the great Dorian disturbances was, as we have said, on the gulf of Corinth. Here they had attained a settled condition, and were under the dominion of the civilizing forces when the fugitive Achæans struck them from the west.

The movements of the Dorians in the larger part of Greece had already disturbed the Ionian tribes, and many of them had flocked into Attica. It was the compression of population thus occasioned by the concentration of the race in the Attic peninsula and the outside impact of the Achæans that led to the organization and dispatch of colonies into distant parts. Legend has been busy with the event. We have here the story of Codrus, last king of mythical Athens. By his self-sacrifice the city was saved and monarchy forever renounced by the Ionian race. But the death of the king could not relieve the plethora of inhabitants. Colonies must carry off the surplus. So Nelus and Androclus, the two sons of Codrus, were placed at the head of emigrant bands, who now gathered the overplus from all Attica and set out across the Ægean to the east.

Concentration of Ionians in Attica; tradition of Codrus.

Thus was founded the Greek state called Ionia, situated on the west coast of Asia Minor between the Hermus and the Mæander, bounded by Lydia on the east and by the Ægean on the west. It was a small strip of seashore not more than ninety geographical miles in length, and having in no part a breadth of more than thirty miles. But such were the remarkable indentations of the coast that the sea line from the Hermus to the Mæander measured no less than three hundred and forty miles.

Founding of Asiatic Ionia; the Dodecapolis.



NORTH SHORE OF THE GULF OF CORINTH.—After a sketch of F. E. Blackstone.

Ionia lay between Æolis on the north and Doris on the south. The situation was especially favorable. It was the Phœnicia of Asia Minor. No position in Western Asia could surpass Ionia in commercial advantages. Here the colonists from the mother country planted themselves. Here were founded at dif-

ferent times twelve or thirteen cities,[1] which were bound together, after the Attic plan, into what became famous under the name of the Ionian Confederation. Besides the coast region, which was properly Ionia, two islands of importance were included in the Greek league. These were Chios and Samos, and with them were associated some smaller isles of less note.

Thus was planted Asiatic Greece. It is not impossible that old Greeks—Hellenes—had previously inhabited this coast, and that their descendants were resident there when Ionia began. But not all of the Ionian race departed from the mother country. In Attica and in other districts the old stock maintained itself, and through generations and ages fought out the race-battle with the Dorians. That struggle constitutes the essence of the civil history of Greece. It was Dorian against Ionian. The two races were of different instincts. Like brothers alienated, the contest was more determined and persistent than the battle of strangers. The general aspect in Hellas during the historical era is that of the Dorian power, with its center in the Peloponnesus, in conflict with the Ionian power, having its head in Attica and its body in Northern Hellas. Southern Greece was *Dorized*, and Hellas Proper was *Ionized*, and the battle for ascendency—a battle of physical force and persistency on the one side and of intellectual force and passion on the other—continued until both powers were prostrated by the sword of Rome.

Race battle of the Ionians and the Dorians in Greece.

The Dorians and Ionians were the two great divisions of the Greeks; but a third branch of the race must not be neglected. This was the Æolian family. According to tradition Æolus was the eldest son of Helen; that is, the Æolic was the oldest division of the Greek race. To Dorus was assigned the second place, while Ion was the youngest of the three. But the relative importance of the three branches of the Hellenic family was not determined by priority—this on the assumption that the Æolians were really the eldest.

Tradition of the descent of the Æolians.

At what time or by what route the Æolians came into European Greece we have no means of knowing; but their locus on the mainland has been tolerably well determined by their language and by a few historical evidences. It is highly probable that the Æolic migration was by way of the island of Lesbos from Asia Minor. Lesbian is regarded as the oldest dialect of Æolic. The race spread into Thessaly and Bœotia. It has been thought that the Eastern Macedonians were of Æolic origin, and in so far as they were true Hellenes this opinion may be accepted. The inhabitants of Elis and Arcadia, that is, the original Greeks of those two states, are thought to have belonged to the same stock, though the ethnologists have been divided on this point. It is safe to say that the Æolians were the northernmost of the three major families of Greeks, the Ionians occupying Central Greece and the Dorians the south.

Conjectural routes of immigration.

Here again the reader must be on his guard against accepting the artificial

[1] The ten cities of Ionia Proper, beginning on the south, were Myus, Triene, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Erythræ, Clazomenæ, and Phocæa. To these were added the two capital towns of Chios and Samos, thus composing the Ionian Dodecapolis. About the year 700 B. C., Smyrna, which had been an Æolian city, committed treason against the parent country and was taken into the Ionian confederation, thus making in the historical era thirteen municipalities bound together in the Asiatic Greek league.

lines of division which convenience has suggested in discriminating these peoples the one from the other. It is in evidence that the Greeks of different stocks commingled along their selvages of contact, and were shaded off imperceptibly into a common character. Thus the Æolians of Thessaly and Bœotia were merged with the Ionian Greeks on the south until it was impossible to discriminate the one from the other. In Elis and Arcadia the commingling was between the Æolians and the Dorians. The language spoken in these states was neither the one nor the other, but both —a composite dialect.

Overlap and intermingling of the Greek races.

The old Dorian wars were at the bottom not only of the colonization of the Dorians themselves in foreign parts, but also of the colonial movements of the Ionians and the Æolians. It was a peculiarity of the Dorian movement through Greece that it held what it gained. That is to say, when the invasion under the lead of the Heraclidæ set out from Doris, to which, as a center, all the Dorian influences had gathered, the state was not abandoned, but was held and developed as such within the historical era. The invasion was carried across the gulf, and the Argives, Laconians, and Messenians were obliged in turn to leave their native seats and make what disposition they could for their future. So the wave of conquest and colonization was started. As to the real invasion of the Dorians, it was stopped, according to the legend, with the death of Codrus under the walls of Athens. Into Attica had been gathered

Antecedents of Æolic colonization abroad.

SHEPHERDS OF ARCADIA—TYPES.—From a painting by Nicholas Poussin.

not only the fugitive Ionians from different parts of Greece, including many of the most distinguished families, such as the descendants of Nestor, from Pylos, but the Æolic populations also had flown thither, partly by actual displacement before the Dorians, and partly as refugees from other quarters.

These materials furnished the source of Æolic colonization. Bands of this race set out, islandwise, across the Ægean, and planted themselves finally on the upper coast of Asia Minor. The shores selected extended from the Hermus northward indefinitely to the Dardanelles and the Propontis, thus including the Troad. Here was founded that Asiatic Æolia which became a league of cities like the Ionian Dodecapolis on the south. At the first the northern limit of this territory was Lectum and the gulf of Adramyttium, but afterwards the boundary was extended to the Propontis.

Establishment of the Æolic confederation.

On this coast were already established the ancient Dardanians, builders of Troy. We are thus brought to the verge of the great question whether or not this successful attempt of the Æolians to plant a dominion, including the Troad, was not the historical cause of the Trojan War rather than the Homeric fiction of the rape of Helen. Of course there is a confusion of dates. The return of the Heraclidæ was, according to the Greek legend, sixty years after the sack of Ilium, and it was under the lead of the descendants of Hercules and his son Hyllus that the Dorians were said to have made their conquests. From these invasions the Æolian colonization of Asia Minor resulted. But was not the Æolian colonization of Asia Minor, with its consequent impact on the Dardanians, the *cause* rather than the consequence of the Trojan War?

The Æolians contest the Troad with the Dardanians.

THE DARDANELLES, LOOKING TOWARD CONSTANTINOPLE.—Drawn by William Simpson.

Thus much is certain: That there was

war with conquest in the establishment of the Æolian Confederation. It was only in the southern part of the coast, next to the Hermus, that the immigrants succeeded in establishing themselves by peaceable measures. Further north they came into contact with the Dardanians. They made war on the cities of the Troad, captured them, destroyed them. It is possible, even probable, that Troy herself was among the number besieged and taken by the European Greeks. The question is whether the sons of Atreus, Agamemnon, and Menelaüs, with their fellow-chieftains of Hellas, were among the Æolians who made war upon their old kinsmen on the ancient coast. If this question should be answered in the affirmative, the minor circumstances of the *Iliad* might well be supplied; and fiction and history, epic song and prose story, would be at one. If decided in the negative, we are left to the bald assertion that the Æolians, after subduing the Dardanians and taking their cities by siege and sack, established the seats of their own power amid the ruins of the older nationality, building up new Hellenic towns on the ruins of those which they had destroyed. It is, however, in perfect accord with the affirmative view that the explorations of Schliemann on the plain of Hissarlik have shown unquestionably the destruction of ancient Ilium in the manner described by Homer, while the relics which he has exhumed from the cinders must have belonged to a people such as the Trojans.

Place of Æolia; historical basis of the "Iliad."

We are thus able to view geographically the situation of the three principal races of the Greeks. Besides the Dorians, the Ionians, and the Æolians, there were several minor divisions of the Hellenic stock which may receive a passing notice at this place. In the northwestern part of Hellas, bounded on the north by Illyria, lay the ancient land of Epirus. If we may accept the testimony of Aristotle, this was the primitive seat of the whole Hellenic race, but the Father of Philosophy is not verified, even by the story-tellers of his own country.

Minor divisions of the Greeks; the Epirotes.

Greek tradition makes the primitive settlement of Epirus to have been effected by a tribe called the Molossians. They, under the leadership of Pyrrhus, son of no less a personage than the crested Achilles, hero of the Trojan War, took possession of the old Dodonian district of the northwest, and there planted the tribal beginnings of Epirote nationality. Achilles himself, however, must have been from this region aforetime, for he was wont in the intervals of his wrath to offer prayer to the Dodonian Zeus. It is said again that the Molossians took their name from an ancient chief, Molossus, who was the son of Andromache; but this requires still greater stretch of imagination. The Epirotes were divided into fourteen independent tribes, the Chaones and the Thesproti being the principal after the Moossians.

The offspring of Achilles founds a state.

The situation was barbarous, and likewise the people. It is likely that the primitive inhabitants of Epirus were an offshoot from the Thraco-Illyrian branch of the Hellenic race. It is also likely that the religious cult, having its center at Dodona, was of a Pelasgic origin, and thereby associated with the old populations of Peloponnesus. It is also likely that, in the time of the Dorian invasions, branches of that family ran into Epirus and contributed to form the miscellany by which it was peopled. The culture

Several race influences felt in Epirus; Zeus of Dodona.

and activity of the Greeks appear never to have penetrated the region; but the awe with which superstition had endued the Dodonian oaks, wherein the solemn voice of Jove Almighty was heard by the primitive sons of men, was perpetuated into the classical ages of Hellen-

ZEUS—AFTER THE VATICAN STATUE.

ism, and only ceased to have an influence over the Greek mind with the extinction of the ancient race.

Of the Achæans, fabulously descended from Achæus, brother of Dorus, something has been said in the former book. Their original seat is thought to have been a small district in Southern Thessaly. It is not impossible that a tribe of men having the tradition of a single ancestor held here a portion of the country, and that they extended their sway, according to the legend, until they reached the Corinthian gulf. Warrior Achilles himself was of this race, and may be said to have typified their passions and barbarism. Achilles was little noted for those amenities which are supposed to humanize mankind, and the race to which he belonged was like unto himself.

Place and character of Achæans; Achilles a type.

In the general agitation of Greece, the Achæans made their way across to the northern shores of Peloponnesus and there established themselves in the little country having a coast line about thirty-five miles in extent. This became the classical province of Achaia. Herein the Achæans were manifest in the ages of recorded history; but, like the Epirotes, they were always an uncultured folk, leaving at the last but little trace in the literature, the art, the memorials of the Hellenic race. They were more like Dorians than Ionians, rough warriors and valiant, but of uncouth manners and unfired with the Promethean light. They transmitted no historical or artistic memorials of themselves, though their fame as warriors fixed itself first in the epic and dramatic poetry of the Ionians, and was thus transmitted to mankind.

The race fixes itself in Achaia; lack of culture.

At the conclusion of the Dorian wars in Peloponnesus the restless tribes who had come in with the Heraclidæ were not appeased by conquest. We have already remarked upon the spirit of colonization into which the restless activities of the Dorians were now turned. One of the most remarkable outputtings of this early age—a movement dimly outlined in the shadows of tradition—

Dorians join the immortals in colonizing Crete.

was that adventure which carried the Dorians by migration into Crete. In that island hitherto had been many wonderful works of gods and men. It was here that Minos had planted his institutions at a time to which the epoch of Lycurgus was modern. Zeus had loved Europa. That is, the Shining Heaven overcame Europe, and Minos was born, even before the flood of Deucalion. Minos was the father of the Greek Noah. He wished to be king of Crete, and prayed that a bull might come up from the sea fit to be sacrificed to Neptune. Accordingly, an animal was so sent, beautiful and strong. Minos would fain save so splendid a creature, and sacrificed another in his stead. So was Neptune offended, and the wife of Minos was smitten with folly as a punishment. For she conceived an insane passion for the bull, and so was born the Minotaur. But Minos became king and lawgiver of the Cretes. Not only so, but the Dorian Lycurgus of the Peloponnesus went thither to learn his first lessons in the law. All of this is to say that a primitive offshoot of the Dorian stock made its way into Crete, and there by conquest and development antedated somewhat the rise of civilization in Southern Hellas.

THE BIRTH OF EUROPA.
Drawn by J. E. Hodgson, from the vision of Titian.

Besides the major nations which we have thus traced to their stations in the Hellenic world, many small divisions were manifest in the general diffusion. In fact, no other people were ever ramified and differentiated to a like extent with the Greeks. This was the bottom fact in the constitution of the Greek populations. The utter diffusion of the race throughout Hellas and the Ægean islands was not only illustrated but proved by the multifarious dialects which sprang from the common ancestral language. Every neighborhood of the Greeks spoke its own tongue. Not only was the vocalic utterance of the language different in one district from that of any other, but even the consonantal structure of the words was inflected into

Absolute diffusion of Greeks indicated by their languages.

new forms, until in many instances the people on the two sides of a range of hills could not hold discourse with each other.

It seemed that the ethnic forces which underlay this complete differentiation of tribe from tribe would be satisfied with nothing short of absolute individualism. The languages or dialects which might be correctly defined by the general term Greek were actually innumerable, and this, too, within a region of country having an estimated area of only thirty-four thousand square miles. Already in this fundamental feature of the Hellenic dispersion we discover the tremendous and radical impulses by which the Greek peoples were borne on, first in their dissemination, afterwards in their development, and finally to the acme of their fame.

Innumerable dialects show the spirit of individuality.

CHAPTER XLVII.—THE FIELD AND THE MARKET.

WE have thus drawn in tolerable breadth the geographical basis of the Hellenic race, with its several divisions. We do not, for the present, consider that race in its widest dispersion, when borne abroad in the Macedonian chariot it deposited its germs of culture on almost every coast of the civilized world. There was a time when from Massilia in Gaul to the valley of the Indus, and from the hyperborean regions of Europe to the cataract of the Nile, the Greek tongue was heard and understood; but we here view only the primitive distribution of the race, under its own ancient movements, apart from the artificial processes of history. It is upon this primitive geographical basis of Hellenism that we wish now to offer a somewhat extended commentary on the ethnic character of the race.

Geographical boundaries of the Greek dispersion.

Human life in the East began with thought and has ended in materialism. In the West it began with materialism and has ended in thought. Even the Eastern Aryans, as they drifted further and further from the original nidus, partook in large degree of the disposition of the Semitic races. They became dreamers, busying themselves with the construction of a System of Things, especially as it relates to the cause or causes of nature. But in Hellas we find for the first time the phenomenon of life on a strictly natural basis. The Greek career began with the adjustment of the race to physical conditions, and the reflex action of the outer world upon the Hellenic mind was the first element of its progress. Life in the East started with religion, and in Greece with something to eat. Not that material phenomena were wholly neglected by the Eastern races; not that the Iranic and Indic-Aryans failed to note the aspects of the material world; but their peculiarity was the attempt to construct at once from visible conditions an Invisible System of power over nature and man. The Western Aryans completely reversed this process. Not that they failed to idealize. Indeed, their whole life grew in the direction of thought and ideality; but they started from the physical basis and led a natural life.

Striking departures between the East and West Aryans.

The country in which the Hellenes found themselves was specially favorable for the encouragement of their instinctive dispositions. Greece is anomalous among all the inhabitable parts of the earth. No other region is in its similitude. It is a vortex of all the forces of the natural world. First of all, it may be said that the region is expressive of the greatest number and variety of natural activities anywhere discoverable in the world. It was volcanic in its origin. It is and has ever been subject to the vicissitudes of earthquake and tempest. It is a perpetual expression of the strife between earth and ocean, between Zeus and Poseidon. Less than one half the area of Portugal, it has a sea line greater than all Spain and Portugal together! No part of Greece is forty miles from the sea or ten miles from the hills. It has within a territory of little more than twenty thousand square miles almost every variety of climate known in Continental Europe, just as Europe has every variety known in the world. Historians and ethnographers have been given to drawing this analogy, namely: Europe is a climatic epitome of the whole earth, and Greece is the epitome of Europe. Nor is the likeness strained which thus assigns to Hellas the place of brief abstract and chronicle of all the physical conditions existing in the habitable parts of the globe.

Greek instincts favored by nature; Greece a vortex.

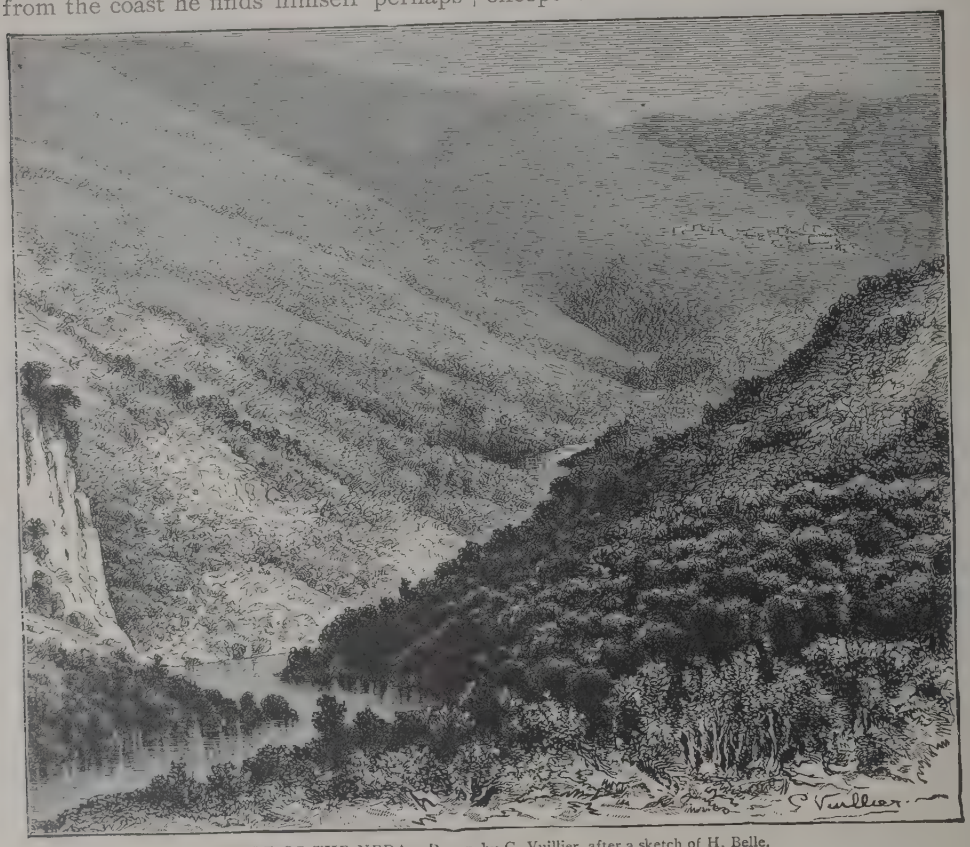
DISTANT VIEW OF CORINTH.—Drawn by MacWhirter.

Down from the frozen summits of Pindus and the Cambunian mountains falls the blast of unending winter, while across the Mediterranean comes the hot breath of Africa. In a journey of a few

miles the traveler not only sees with his eye a natural panorama which may be regarded as a summary of all the known landscapes of the earth, but he feels against his person the breath of every climate. At only a short distance from the coast he finds himself perhaps

Extraordinary range of climatic phenomena.

gle navigable body of live water in the whole country. In summer time the beds of brooks are dry and gleaming white in the sunshine. On the hillslopes are forests. It is reckoned that to the present day fifteen per cent of the original woods remains, with little change except the slow transformation which



VALE OF THE NEDA.—Drawn by G. Vuillier, after a sketch of H. Belle.

at a level of more than five thousand feet above the sea. Below him, here and there, is a plateau. Beyond are peaks and ranges of hills. Between are narrow and sequestered valleys. Here is a small and fertile plain, and there a ravine, traversed by a short and insignificant river, which plunges down wildly to the sea. There is an abundance of running streams, but not a sin-

all vegetation on the earth is undergoing under the dominion of cosmic forces.

There are in Greece at least four distinct zones of vegetation. From the seacoast to the height of about five hundred feet lies the land of corn and wine,

Zones of vegetation and products of each.

of olives, oranges, melons, pomegranates, and all manner of fruits. Between five hundred and fifteen hundred feet

of elevation we have the first level of hills where the semitropical products give place to hardier forms of vegetation. This is the region where earth products are supplanted by animal life, where flocks and herds abound rather than gardens and growing fields. From fifteen hundred to three thousand five hundred feet is the forest region of Greece, where the old oaks still spread in their primitive grandeur. This is the second real belt of vegetable life. From three thousand five hundred to five thousand feet rises the land of the beech and the pine, interspersed, however, with occasional districts where cornfields and gardens of hardier vegetables and fruits are found. Beyond five thousand feet rise the mountain heights of a subalpine character, where only a few wild plants are able to maintain a precarious existence.

We thus see a country steep-up, broken, infinitely diversified. If the land level had been a little lower, only the heights would have appeared above the water. The Adriatic and the Ægean would have flowed together, and the archipelago would have been continuous from Asia Minor to Italy. Greece is a land archipelago, the bottoms between the islands being covered with fruits and flowers and inhabited by all manner of living forms.

Cosmographical possibilities of Hellas and her islands.

It was into this region that the primitive Hellenes wandered and dispersed. At the first, as we have said, it was a quest for food, a quest most successful and encouraging. The Greek tribes found much to eat. In no part of the earth was the struggle for a food-supply among a primitive people rewarded with so immediate and varied results. The fact is here cited because of its reäctionary effect upon the development of the race. In the whole Greek career we shall find the idea of food, the physical sustenance of life, and the methods by which it should be accomplished to have been among the most important considerations to which the energies of the Greeks were devoted. It may, therefore, profit that we look for a moment at some of the natural means by which the original plant of Hellenism was nourished as it spread wild over the valleys and hill-slopes of the ancient land.

The Greek satisfies himself with natural abundance.

Here grew the grape. The wines of modern Greece are not reckoned among the best, but are extremely abundant and varied in kind. Perhaps they have lost their flavor. At all events, the early products of the Greek vineyards were among the richest of the world. At the present time there are fully seven hundred thousand *stremmas* of land[1] planted in vineyards, and it is probable that even this comparatively wide area does not fairly represent the immense cultivation of vines in the early ages of Greek civilization.

A land of the vine and the mulberry.

The census of 1876 showed a total of more than two million of mulberry trees under cultivation in Greece. Throughout Peloponnesus scarcely a peasant, in mediæval or modern times, but has had a few mulberries growing, and scarcely a peasant's wife but has carried about the gathered eggs of the silkworm in her bosom. In primitive times the fruit of this tree was employed for food as one of the native berries of Greece, and to the present day it is not to be neglected as a summer fruit.

The silkworm products; figs and the citrus fruits.

But greater than the mulberry is the fig. In Attica, at the present time as

[1] The *stremma* is about one fourth of an acre.

in the remotest ages of the dawn, the fig tree grows to perfection. Also in Messenia it flourishes. It is reckoned that the fig orchards of modern Greece exceed three hundred thousand trees. The fruit has in no wise degenerated from its ancient qualities. Such as it was when first planted or discovered by the incoming Ionians it is to-day. The same may be said of the apricots and the pomegranates, which grow abundantly on all the lower levels and plains of Greece. All of the varieties of the citrus fruits abound—oranges, lemons, citrons, and limes—both on the mainland and in the outlying islands of the archipelago.

The viticulture of Hellas has for a long time extended over a peculiar variety of grape having its native place in the rich country about Corinth. It is called the *currant* in the land of its production and also in the markets of the West. This berry is said to constitute the largest single export from modern Greece. The census of 1876 shows an exportation of one hundred and ninety-five million pounds of this small grape, well known in the markets of England and America as the chief constituent of plum-pudding. Doubtless the fruit in question has flourished from the earliest ages, and we may conceive the delight of even the old Pelasgic tribes in finding themselves in the native thickets

Fame and abundance of the Greek currants.

MODERN MARKET SCENE AT DHOMOCO, THESSALY.—Composed by Tofani, under direction of Henzey.

where this vine hung heavy with its treasure.

It is not needed to enumerate the vast, almost infinite, variety of fruits and vegetables, berries and grains, native or imported, that have flourished and still flourish in the valleys and on the plains of Hellas. No other country in the world has had so great variety and so great abundance. True, the area was not large; but nature was here in her intensest mood. She gave of her riches. Her wealth was at first hand. And so amid this abundance the Hellenic family, notably the Ionians and the Dorians, began their career. They reached forth their hand and took from the hand of nature the nourishment which was destined to increase and intensify the native vigor of the people, already vigorous and intense by journeyings and adventure, by poetic exploit and warlike hazard in many lands.

Richness of the land in vegetables, grains, and berries.

Not only were the Greeks thus in the early ages brought into contact with the most varied and abundant resources of the natural world, as it respects what things soever sprang from the bosom of the earth, but they also found themselves in a region where the old struggle with animal life continued. There was a happy balancing of the vegetable and the animal kingdom, as well as a parallelism between the two in respect to va-

Balancing of vegetable and animal means of subsistence.

HARBOR OF HYDRA.—Drawn by Barclay, after a sketch of H. Belle.

GREEK SHIPS,—Harbor of Hydra.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

riety and fecundity. The hills of primitive Greece teemed with all manner of living creatures. The wild boar, the wolf, the bear, the lynx, the wild cat, the jackal, and the fox were everywhere and abounded. The wild goat was then an inhabitant of Greece, and to this day finds, so far as Europe is concerned, his last refuge in some of the islands of the archipelago. Game has ever been abundant in Hellas. The red deer, the fallow deer, the roe, the hare, the rabbit, and innumerable other varieties of animated creatures, hoofed and pawed, winged or finned, provoked the adventurous Greek to the excitements of the chase.

Here, then, we have the beginnings of the food-supply of the Hellenic race. But this was not all. The country was created for commerce. Everywhere the ocean has eaten into the land, and everywhere the land reaches into the sea. Harbors are without number. The whole coast is virtually a haven. As if not satisfied with surrounding all the outer shore of Hellas with bays and inlets, nature went within and divided the small country in twain by an inland sea of salt water, safe and capacious for all manner of ships. Already the adventures and excursions of the Hellenes had fitted them for commercial enterprise. Already the journeys of the people had reached out over sea as well as land. Already, by their experiences on the coasts of Asia Minor and in the islands of the archipelago, they had become wise in the management of ships. They were a people, moreover, quick to discern and eager to recognize the value of foreign products and the advantages of interchange. Thus were laid in nature the foundations of the striking aptitude of the Greeks for commercial enterprise. They were, from the first, the British, the Portuguese, the Dutch of antiquity.

Greece created and the Greeks developed for commerce.

Thus at a very early age the Greeks, out of the resources of their own country and by foreign commerce, supplied themselves with the first necessaries of life. It can not be doubted that the character of the food which the primitive peoples were able to obtain, the method of its preparation and of its taking, had much to do with their development. Eating is far more important in its relations with the body of youth than with the more hardened personage of mature life. So in the youth of nations, to be well fed was to be well bred. There appears to have been, moreover, in the Greek an element of taste with respect to food for which we should look in vain among any other ancient people. He not only fed himself plentifully, abundantly, but also tastefully. He was not as the Roman or the Assyrian a gourmand by nature and practice. His eating was a rational action, and his selection and adaptation of food was a process of right thinking and good taste.

Strong reäctions of the food-supply on Greek character.

Already, in the age of Homer, the natural condition and distribution of food was a matter of prime importance. The epic concept of food-taking was wholly free from the coarse and degraded notions which many nations have attached thereto. With Homer bread and the distribution of bread, the meat of the sacrifice and its savory smell, were subjects of poetic thought. With him the eating of his heroes was as poetical as their battle. His resounding hexameters knew no difference between the clang of the drinking cups and the lifting of roast meats from spits and beds of coals on the one side, and the clang of shields and the burial of dead heroes on the other. The one

Food-taking idealized in the epic poetry of the Greeks.

GREEK BANQUET.—Reception to Socrates at House of Agathon.—Drawn by A. Feuerbach.

was the means of developing and ennobling his warriors, and the other the means of their destruction.

Greek table becomes the center of the civilized life.

From the earliest ages the table of the Greek became in some sense the center of his civilization. Here all of his tastes were cultivated. Beginning with the gratification of his palate and the strengthening of his physical nature, he gave free rein to his thought. He spoke, and his friends at the board responded. There was elegant converse. The Greek table was the first point of light which shone out of the old barbarism; and the garland of flowers which the nude waiting-boy handed to the lady of the house, who reclined at the board between her lord and her father, and with which her delicate hands crowned their brows, was the emblem and promise of the art and poetry of the Greeks.

Hellenic society organized around the market.

These fundamental facts in the life of the Hellenes soon passed into their organic development. In the earliest towns built by the Greeks, whether Dorians or Ionians, the central idea was not the place of justice, not the bema where the orator was to stand, not the gymnasium where the youth was to be educated, not even the temple of the gods, but simply the *Market*. We should look in vain among all other ancient peoples for this so physical an emblem in the heart of municipality. Not in the outskirts of his town did the Greek plant his market place; not in the dirty purlieus of his less attractive streets and alleys did he establish booths and sheds for the sale of what things soever his gardeners, his fishermen, his merchants had brought together for the support of life; but in his best square, in his center around which all the other interest of his city were to be set in disposal, there he made his market place, and adorned it with art.

The most learned and artistic travelers of the ancient or the modern world could but be astonished were they introduced again into the splendid surroundings, the beauties, the elegance, the refinement of the old Greek markets. Nothing like them has been found otherwhere along the wharves, within the walled towns, or as concomitants to the great cities built by men.

Splendid concomitants of the market place in Sparta.

Even among the austere Dorians the same practice prevailed in the building of their towns. Here before us is the market place of Sparta—primitive Sparta —that old Sparta which was created by the Dorian race in the early days after the conquest of Peloponnesus. It is a broad, open space, paved with marble. Around it are splendid columns, and porticoes elaborately carved and surmounted with statues. Marble seats have been hewn out for the common people where they may sit on coming to buy. Here in the foreground is the statue of Hermes of the Agora. He holds in his arms the infant Bacchus. This single statue would be an art treasure sufficient to distinguish any city of modern times. To the right is an immense portico of marble columns. Far in the background is the citadel, also of white marble. In the rear of the plaza stands superbly the colossal statue of the Spartan people, with brazen shield and inverted spear. To the left and at the rear of the open space is the temple of the Moirai, containing the bones of Orestes. To the right is a smaller, but still more famous fane; it is the memorial hall in which are gathered and preserved the spoils and trophies of the Persian War. One very side are marble elevations and pillars and statues with-

out number. Yet this is Sparta, city of the Dorians, grimmest of all the Greeks.

What, then, shall we expect in the market place of Athens? These are the joyous, effervescent Ionian Greeks, to whom the pleasure of congregation is a *sine qua non* of living. This is the elegant race who, beginning on the same level of a material existence, rose and flowered like a lily from the soil. The market of Athens was one of the marvels of antiquity. It was set at the south acclivity of the Acropolis, overlooked by the Parthenon and the statue of Athena Promachos. The great square was paved with marble. At the right was the magnificent Portico of the Eponymoi, where were gathered the statues of the ancestors of the Ionian race. A little to the left and further on was the celebrated Areopagus. In the foreground and facing on the square was the world-renowned Bema where the orators stood in addressing the populace. Behind and beyond rose the magnificent rotunda of the Bouleuterion where the *Boule*, or Great Council of Five Hundred, was wont to assemble. Then came the great marble stairway, broad and beautiful, leading up between the Bema and the Temple of Peace. Under the shelter of the latter stood the Statue of Peace, with the child Plutus in her arms. Beyond and still to the left was the Portico Poicile, dating as far back as the days of Pisistratus, and adorned by some of the most famous chisels and brushes in Athens. Above and beyond loomed the native precipice of the Acrop-

Features and art works of the Athenian market.

STREET IN ATHENS, SHOWING TOWER OF THE WINDS.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

olis, while still to the left was the portico and colonnade of King Attalus. All of these wonderful structures, in which was expressed the best genius of the most active race of men, were done in shining marble, over which the Attic sunshine spread its splendors, while the most illustrious of the Greeks gathered in the market place not only to buy their fruits and meats and flowers, but to walk and gesticulate and debate the questions of the day.

FLOWER GIRLS OF THE ATHENIANS.—Drawn by O. Konig.

The keen artistic sense of the Greeks laid under tribute all the beauties of the natural world. Theirs was the kingdom of leaves and blossoms. No table of the Greeks, no banquet, no household meal where only the family were gathered was complete without its rich display of flowers. These were done into garlands by the women, and were worn on the heads or around the bodies of

the eaters. Other garlands were put as crowns about the wine vases and cups; and the dishes of viands were not ready to be served until the rim of the plate had its trimming of leaves and blossoms. There was in every city a flower market having special reference to the feast, to the banquet. Nor was it a rude and uncertain class of women and girls who brought hither the treasures of the flower garden and the field, but elegant Greek maidens and the well-attired of the poorer class came with their baskets laden to the brim with the choicest garlands. Those who would decorate their homes went to this market and received from the hands of women who might well have stood as models for Phidias the beautiful wreaths which were to adorn the tables of numberless homes in Athens.

Flower treasures of the banquet and the flower girls.

ON THE PROMENADE OF THE AGORA—COSTUMES AND TYPES.
From a vase.

Not only blossoms appeared, but garlands of myrtle and ivy and of the silver poplar were woven in artistic form by the women and carried to the market place. Nor were these treasures lightly flung aside when they had subserved their purpose and began to fade. They were carried away by the guests as mementos. The lover hung up his wreath at the door, and with all the idealism of a Greek wrote beneath it:

Poetical estimate of wreaths and garlands.

"Fair as these flowers, like them thou soon shalt fade."

Here, then, sprang up and began to blossom the ideal life of the Greeks. The market place was not only the scene of an interchange of products, of the selling of meats and fruits and flowers, not only the place of elegant shops where other forms of merchandise were bartered for gain, but it was also the Bourse of Thought. Here idea was offered for idea, conceit for conceit. Plans were made and developed. From the market radiated almost all the lines of institutional life among the Greeks. The political tendencies of the times germinated here, and here the public life took form.

The market of the Greeks the Bourse of Thought.

In the market the aspects of private life were in a large measure determined. Manners and customs grew in this fecund city of activities. Hither men came to offer their opinions, to combat the opinions of others, to stand for leadership, to control the forces of society. Others came through vanity. Fashions were made in the agora. The young fops of Athens here displayed their new est suits, and here the sages and philosophers walked about, wearing their short Dorian cloaks and carrying their

What things were proposed and discussed in the agora.

knotty staves, cut from the myrtle bough. Here was seen the gnarled brows and Promethean eyes of Socrates, glaring at some sophist against whose sapless folly he thundered some unanswerable aphorism, and here the stooping and tattered Diogenes went about, like the cynic that he was, carrying his lighted lantern at noonday.

As we have said, many of the most important civil interests of the Greek cities were grouped about their market places. In Athens, for instance, the great Bouleuterion, or Council Chamber of the Five Hundred, was set below the Acropolis and facing on the market. It was thus convenient for members of the Boule to meet each other informally in the agora, and turn thence to the sitting of the council. In coming forth, the first thing which the senators and judges of the Greek states would see was the plaza of the agora, with its assemblage of marketers and citizens. In the Bouleuterion was conducted the important business of the state. Here was taken the initiative in all legislative matters. Here the measures were devised by which the public finances were regulated, the soldiery provided for, the decision reached for war, and the vote taken for peace. Here also the envoys and ministers from foreign states were received, and the diplomatic intercourse between the city and distant countries conducted.

Relations of the market and the Bouleuterion.

The market place in the democratic cities of the Ionians had a greater importance than among the Dorian cities of the south; but the aristocratic form of Greek society was also nurtured in the agora. In Sparta, as well as in Athens, the market was the place where the Gerontes, or Old Men, were wont to come and interchange their wisdom. Here the Ephoroi assembled and conducted the government. Under the colonnades of the market place any company of free Spartans might assemble and speak, in their laconic way, of public affairs; but the Spartan orator was not encouraged. He gave only the pith of the thing, and said no more. There

In the Spartan agora aristocracy was nourished.

FISHING BEACH.—Drawn by G. Vuillier, after a sketch of H. Belle.

was no response, no agitation, none of that humming and buzzing, that clatter of the tongue and flourish of the arms peculiar to the agora of the democratic states. For this reason the Dorian cities did not to a like degree have the center of their civil institutions in the agora. We must remember, however, the peculiarity of Sparta. As already said, it has been denied that the Spartans were the typical representatives of the Dorian race. If we should take Corinth as an example of Doric development, we should find a much closer approximation to the form of life and social evolutions peculiar to the Ionians.

Commercially speaking, it must not be understood that the market place of a Greek city was the scene of merely light and transient barter. On the contrary, it was the place of the solid and extensive business upon which the commerce and trade of the whole state depended. Here the bankers and brokers had their *trapezai*, or tables, from which the money dealings of the city were transacted. The great merchants, the importers, and shippers congregated at these banks. It was the primitive board of trade; and already many of the vices and much of the heat peculiar to the modern exchange had appeared in the heart of the Greek metropolis. There were speculation and fraud. Handfuls of counterfeit money were thrown down on the trapezai to be rejected by the connoisseurs behind the tables. The bankers made checks, drew bills of exchange, and received deposits, much after the manner of modern times. Borrowers and lenders came together in the marble porticoes where these things were done, and the old man who had completed his will on the previous night handed it across the marble table to a banker for safe keeping.

Commerce also centered in the market.

In no other situation may the life and manners of the Greeks be studied to better advantage than in the market place. It was an open arena in which the Hellenic genius displayed its powers and tendencies at will. Men, set free, show their nature for what it is. Artificiality disappears with liberation. In the market the Greeks went free, and the natural man was revealed in all his aptitudes and passions. Here he walked and talked and acted under the dominion of those natural forces which, like a half-transparent garment, clad without concealing his person and his spirit.

The market an arena for the study of Greek character.

But it is not intended in this connection to branch out into a discussion of the manners and customs of the Greek people. The point here made is that the market place was a sort of center in the life of Hellas. Beginning with the food-supply of the people, with the gathering and distribution of those varied products which the Greek peasants brought in from the gardens and orchards, the sheepfolds and fishing beaches, the citizens soon extended and enlarged the functions of their market into a true agora around which were gathered most of the interests of the people. The instinctive tastes of the Hellenes led them to adorn, beautify, and extend the scene of their intercourse, until at length marble supplied the place of wood, art the place of primitive rudeness, and wit the place of vulgarity.

Social life of the Greeks was fashioned in the agora.

CHAPTER XLVIII.—THE WOMEN—PHYSICAL TRAINING.

LET us now descend at once to the bottom fact of the social state, the relation of man and woman. In following the migrations of the Aryans to the West we have thus far looked at the movement of *men*, without stopping to consider the fact of sex as the necessary concomitant circumstance of human life and progress. Already in Western Asia Minor the woman begins to rise. In Phrygia she makes a prehistoric apparition. At Troy it is manifest that she has become a power—not only a power, but in some sense the glory of the city. All the Homeric narrative revolves about her. She is evidently in the ascendent on both sides of the Ægean. Andromache is in Ilium and Helen is in Mycenæ. About these two all the heroic action turns. In the progress of the Homeric narrative, both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, we are able to trace the epic concept of the women of the Hellenic dawn.

Woman rises to honor with the West Aryans.

We have only to glance at the character which the epic and tragic poets of the earliest ages of Greek literature gave to women to catch the fundamental notions and practices of the race. Alcestis sacrifices herself to restore her husband. Iphigenia offers her life, and feels no bitterness. Antigone follows her blind father and suffers with him all the misery of banishment. Penelope is almost as much the heroine of the *Odyssey* as her husband is the hero. No picture has ever been drawn of a more ideal perfection in the love and devotion of woman to man than that of Andromache to the valiant Hector. Nothing shakes her from her allegiance. No horror of the overhanging doom disturbs her fidelity or clouds her hope. Even Helen is more sinned against than sinning. The gods had planned a stratagem, and she was one of the victims of the play. Arete

Splendid fame of the great women of the Greeks.

HELEN OF TROY.
From a marble relief of the third century B. C.

is not more religious as a queen than as a woman. It is her womanhood rather than her majesty that appeases the multitude and settles the quarrel of the state. Everywhere the picture of woman in the epic dawn has the same outline of nobility and beauty; and even in the post-epic age she survives for a while as the divinity of the man and the princess of the state.

Painful falling of woman from her place in Greek society.

It is therefore all the more painful to note first the check and then the retrogression of woman in ancient Greek society. In the age of the evolution of the political power of the Greek states forces appeared which, while they promoted the man, thrust back the woman. True, she was not converted again into a slave. True, some portions of her old-time dignity and queenliness remained through all the subsequent vicissitudes of Greek history. But she lost her place at the head of society, and became to a great degree the servant and associate rather than the companion and queen of her lord.

Rage of the democracy drove the women from the agora.

Nor are we greatly embarrassed in determining the causes of this fall. It was the work of the Ionian democracies. So radical and violent were the activities of the ancient citizens that woman was obliged to retire from the agora and the public place into the shadow of the Gynæconitis for shelter and safety. Here she must remain in seclusion while the powerful action of the comedy and the tragedy were carried forward in the outer world. This to say that domestic life, which was really the only life in the Homeric epoch, gave place to the public life, which was the only life of the classical ages. With the evolution of the state men devoted themselves to the public life, and the domestic life sank into unimportance. With it went down the primacy of the Greek woman. Within the walls of the Gynæconitis she was no longer able to keep pace with the intellectual development and activities of her lord. Her restriction became a habit, and the progress of democracy in the agora was concomitant with the retrogression of the private life in the Greek home.

The Spartan woman kept her place at the fore.

It was for the reasons here delineated that in Dorian Sparta, where aristocracy instead of democracy became the bottom principle in civil society, woman long continued to hold her rank by the side of the man, such as it had been in the old days of the heroic war. The Spartan wife or mother was still a princess, a queen, long after the Ionian woman—even of sparkling Athens—was lost in the seclusion of the Gynæconitis. To the end of the Dorian ascendency the woman of Sparta maintained her pre-eminence. Her like for vigor and courage was never seen otherwhere among the nations of the earth. It was said as a sort of mocking satire that not even the iron legislation of Lycurgus could reduce the women of Sparta to submission or curb the audacity of their spirit. But the satire was taken by those against whom it was directed as the highest compliment! They answered that if they were the only beings whom the Lycurgian laws had been unable to reduce, they were also the only beings who had ever given birth to *men*.

Athletic discipline of the girl-children of Sparta.

From infancy the Spartan girl-child was subjected to the very same physical exercises and general discipline as her brother. If the latter was destined to be a warrior, the former was destined to be a warrior's wife and the mother of other warriors. The Spartan maiden

MORNING IN THE WOMAN'S COURT OF GREEK HOUSE.—Drawn by E. Klimsch.

appeared on the Olympic race course, at the festival of Hera, and ran for the crown of olive. If she won, her portrait was set up in commemoration of the victory. At the religious festivals the custom was the same. Women were not only permitted to share the rites, but their service was a necessary part of the national religion. After her marriage the Spartan matron not only assumed the supremacy of her household, but she also had the management of the slaves, that horde of half-savage and insubordinate Helots who were always the menace of the state. Her authority was absolute, and even her freeborn lord, when at home, yielded to her commands.

Of a certainty this life of the Dorian woman was a purely physical life. Of intellectual development, properly so called, she knew nothing. In this she was at one with her husband. He not only knew nothing of ideality and intellectual preëminence, but he despised both. The culture was simply physical. But it was impossible that such culture should not produce startling intellectual effects. For the mind is the flower of the body; and if the stem be vigorous, the flower is likely to be beautiful. But culture is still necessary to refine and purify—to give fragrance and ideal perfections to the blossom of life. It is sufficient to say of the Spartan woman that she was the most vigorous and perfect if not the most beautiful animal of the ancient world.

Dorian culture was from a purely physical basis.

GREEK WOMEN AT HOUSEHOLD DUTIES.—Drawn by E. Klimsch.

With the growth of democracy among

the Ionian peoples the woman, as we have said, was thrust into the background, but she was not destroyed. In her restricted sphere she continued preëminent. It is true that the glory of Greek womanhood was not, on the whole, comparable with the glory of Greek manhood. We speak now of the age of the Hellenic ascendency, when power and learning and art had come; when Athens sparkled as the eye of Greece.

Ionian women retained a measure of preëminence.

The Ionian women, however, could not be retired into the shadow of the splendid male-life of the race without some peculiar social effects. The dammed-up current of womanhood sought a side channel of development where the waters were more brilliant and free, but at the same time more dangerous and uncertain in their course. The Ionian laws of marriage were extremely severe as it respected the fidelity of the woman who entered wedlock, but they threw no restraint upon the lord of the house. The Attic democrats were careful not to lay social fetters upon themselves. They took all the liberty which the age, the circumstances, and their own caprice suggested. To meet the wayward fancy of the great Greeks a large division of the Ionian women were diverted from marriage proper into a career of social freedom which, while it was not a positive degradation, at least not the depth of degradation, was nevertheless a wide departure from the canons of monogamic virtue. A class of talented and audacious women called *Hetairai* arose; that is, the "others." These others were the female friends of what Greeks soever they could bring within the circle of their influence and affection. The relation was a peculiar one. The hetairai and the matrons of the Ionian cities became competitors for the favor of the great men of the race. To the modern inquirer it seems strange that such a

Place of the Hetairai in Greek society.

ONE OF THE HETAIRAI—TYPE.
Drawn by C. Kolb.

state of society could have existed without self-destruction as its end; but the canon of the times was so little severe that the home life of the Greek was not much disturbed by the license of the man.

However pitable in many respects the condition of the hetairai must have been, in other regards it had its brilliant aspects. It can not be doubted that much of the genius of the Greek women took this course. Born wit, which wasted itself unspoken in the shadows of the Gynæconitis, found free expression when the possessor was a hetaire. Women of this class became noted in public life. They received the adulation of the most distinguished citizens of the Ionian states. They became the companions and counselors of those great Attic democrats whose magisterial intellect ruled the world for a season. They showed at least that the intellect and will as well as the taste of woman are able to express themselves in the grandest and most brilliant activities when once the condition of freedom is attained. It appears, moreover, that a standard of virtue, such as it was, was established and maintained by the hetairai of the Greek cities. There was much fidelity between the versatile, witty, and accomplished women of this class and the men with whom they were associated by no tie other than that of preference, admiration, and a certain kind of affection.

Distinction attained by this class of women.

ASPASIA.
Drawn by C. Kolb, from the bust in the Vatican.

Not a little was the current history deflected at times by the influence of the woman who was associated at the head of affairs with the leader of the epoch. Hardly any great Greek was free from the entanglements of this relation. Pericles had for his companion the famous Aspasia, whose intellectual and otherwise exalted character has shed a luster even upon the class of which she was the greatest ornament. So preeminent was she in her day that the greatest philosophers and statesmen visited her home. Her fascination was of the mind, far above the region of mere eroticillusion. Saturnine Socrates himself sat at her feet, and declared that he had learned eloquence from her lips. He was also conversant with a second distinguished woman named Diotima, from whose conversation he gathered all that is set forth concerning the nature of love in the celebrated *Symposium* of Plato. Pericles freely ascribed to Aspasia the best parts of his eloquence, and it has been alleged that his great oration, or panegyric, on the soldiers who fell in the Samian war was com-

Ascendency of the hetairai over statesmen and philosophers.

APHRODITE.
Drawn by L. Michalek, from the Venus of Cnidos.

posed by her, to be spoken by him. Strange commentary, that after the death of the greatest of all the Athenian democrats, the woman who had thus ruled him and through him the Hellenic world, should have married Lysikles, a common fool of the city!

"Destroyed by Alexander; rebuilt by Phryne the Hetaire."

"Destroyed by Alexander; rebuilt by Phryne the Hetaire." Such was the inscription which the beautiful, but audacious, reprobate proposed to put on the restored walls of Thebes—restored by her own wealth and profusion, which she had gathered as the contributions of the most distinguished Athenians, not even excepting Demosthenes. The walls of Thebes had been thrown down by the Conqueror, and the people of the devastated city had not the means of restoration; but *she* was able to restore the walls, and would do it if they would allow her to associate her name with that of Alexander and also to attach the word which designated the class of brilliant and reckless women to which she belonged!

Artists make Phryne their model and ideal.

Like Aspasia, Phryne was a power in Attica at a time when Attica was still a power in the earth. Statues of her, done by Praxiteles himself, were set up alongside of that of Aphrodite, at Thespiæ, and between the votive offerings of the King of Sparta and of Philip of Macedon at the shrine of Delphi. She it was whom Apelles painted as the Venus of the Seafoam, and she it was whom Praxiteles made his model when he chiseled the imperishable Aphrodite of Cnidos.

It were vain to extend the list of these brilliant creatures whose wit and beauty were so powerful over the destinies of Greece. At Corinth, Laïs, another of the number, was reckoned in her day the fairest woman of the Greek world. Such was her reputation that devotees—if not victims—from many states were at her altars, and of her it might well be said, in the time of her triumph:

"Hellas, resplendent in martial fame, unconquered in battle,
Willingly bent her haughty neck to the power of beauty."

Women of the home emerge with the decline of Greece.

If the hetairai among the Greek women were in the ascendent during the age of Hellenic glory, the matrons of the home rose above them in the time of the political decline. It was the evolution of democracy which led to the seclusion of the home-women of the Greeks, and it was the decadence of that same democracy which led to their emergence. As the hilarious uproar of the agora and the pnyx passed away, the Greek citizens fell back from the exuberant public life which they had hitherto led into a home life, more pronounced than that which had prevailed in the times of the political greatness of Greece. It thus happened that so far as the women of the Ionian Hellenes were concerned, they are displayed in two epochs of greatness; first, in the dawn, when epic poetry drew in elegant hexameters the outlines of womanhood in primitive Hellas; and, second, in that later day, when the political sun of the Greeks was going down in the west. Between these two eras the intellectual life of woman was eclipsed, or had its manifestation only in the brilliant and lawless audacity of the hetairai. In Sparta the Dorian wife and mother maintained their ascendency to the end; and in the last days, we find the mother and wife of King Agis after his death, urging on Cleomenes and his warriors in a final effort for the freedom of their country.

Life among the Greeks was a physical rather than a moral product. It was evolved merely by natural forces and supported by natural means. From this point of view we may understand the small estimation in which life was held among the Hellenes. They reckoned it with death. The infant was less the property of the mother and the father than of the city.

Reasons for slight estimate of life among the Greeks.

We are here face to face with the subject of the treatment which Greek children received at birth. The child was, in the primitive ages, subjected to the inspection of the Ephors, or their representatives, and the question passed whether or not the infant was worthy of preservation. It does not seem that there was much discrimination against girl infants. The principle was general. If the child was weak or disproportioned, or had any serious defect in its physical nature, it was rejected and given over to

Destruction of imperfect children; manner of exposure.

GYMNASTIC EXERCISES OF SPARTAN YOUTH.—Drawn by P. Grot Johann.

as a force to be employed for the good of the state. Notwithstanding the intense individualism of the race, notwithstanding the almost insane democracy of the Ionians, the theory of the subordination of the individual life to the life of the city was strenuously maintained. This theory began in its application with birth, and ended only

the destroyer. In that event the infant was borne away to the ravines or hills and left to perish. The actual destruction was effected by wolves or foxes or birds of prey. It seems that those who had the disposal of the rejected children in hand shrank from the actual act of murder, and took the circuitous method of exposure to ravenous beasts.

Communal training of Spartan children and youth.

The accepted children were kept for a while by the mothers, and then, if Spartans, were delivered over to the public. The principle of communism now prevailed. The youth was to be made into a warrior, or, if a girl, into a warrior's wife. To this end the means of physical culture were diligently and assiduously applied. The whole education consisted of gymnastic exercises, with such incidental development of the mind as might be acquired in the general process. Boys and youth were permitted to listen to the laconic sayings of the Gerontes, but were not permitted to participate until they were thirty years of age. Conversation in the chief Dorian city was always disparaged. It was one of the many superfluities which the Ionians might cultivate, but which every true Dorian ought to despise.

More rational and humane methods of North Greeks.

In the northern states of Greece, and even in those parts of Peloponnesus lying next thereto, the rigor of the southern discipline was much relaxed. In Attica children were not destroyed after the barbaric age. The method of culture also was in the Attic cities directed to both body and mind. It might be impossible to state accurately at what time regular schools were first instituted in Thebes and Athens; but it is certain that from the earliest epoch of Greek progress, the children of the Ionians were subjected to a more rational and humane kind of discipline than those of the Peloponnesian cities. In course of time much attention was given by the Attic philosophers to the subject of education, and the methods which they employed were long regarded as the most efficient of any in ancient times. As late as the seventeenth century, in England, there were still great thinkers who accepted the Greek model of the school; and even Milton, in his educational scheme, followed that model in nearly all of its details and peculiarities.

Greek training looked to the making of citizens.

We have already pointed out the theory which underlay the training of the youth in all the Grecian states, whether Ionian or Dorian. It was the making of a citizen who should belong to the state—the construction of a perfect human block that should fit exactly and permanently into the edifice. Among no other people has this dogma been so absolute and invariable in its application as among the Hellenes. At the same time that it was sought to develop all of the human forces in the individual and to make him perfect in his kind and structure, it was also sought to fashion the unit with strict reference to the whole of which he was a part.

Complete subordination of the man to the city.

That whole was the city or state. City and state were essentially convertible terms. The one was the other. That is, the city was the state. There was, of course, an outlying region, a country thickly populated, cultivable, productive; but the country was only so much physical tissue round about the heart, which was the life thereof. The heart was the city. The man was the citizen. Of himself he was nothing. It is surprising in the last degree that this subordination of the individual to the organic structure of society did not appear

to fret the great spirits of the Greeks. We do not hear Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, complaining of their complete subjection. We might say that they did not *feel* their slavery to the city. True enough, the results of it were most tangible and terrible in their own lives. The individual was crushed as beneath a stone if he resisted the abuses of and carried out in all of the mature practices of the Greeks. To have said from the bema of any Greek city at any time during the Hellenic ascendency that the state existed only for the benefit of the individual citizen would have been a proposition more startling and more certainly fatal to him who made it than were any of the vague heretical allusions

SCHOOL OF ATHENS.—From the painting by Raphael.

organic power and asserted himself against them.

Such was the tremendous force of the Greek race that this resistance of the man against the despotism of the state was frequent and fatal. The great Greek could not help the conflict which his own nature demanded, but the end was death. All of this began, as we have said, at the birth of the child, was maintained in the theory of discipline, for which the bowl of hemlock was offered to Socrates.

Insubordination to the state fatal to the man.

In history, technically so called, we look outward at the objective activities of men or rather the *results* of those activities. It is a narrative of the forms, aspects, and relations of the works of men rather than of the men themselves; but in ethnic history we look backward at the actors. It is the life and growth of the human race which

In what sense institutions are regarded in ethnic history.

we here consider; not the deeds done by men, but the men, whom we fix our gaze upon and describe. It is an account of the evolution of mankind; but this account necessarily involves the physical apparatus by which the evolution is accomplished. Even the vines which grow on the surface of the earth have a *vehicle*, a means unto an end, the end being their support and development. So there is a vehicle of human growth, an extended apparatus by which the several races of men have successively been aided, as with a staff in the hand, to leap from point to point.

Among the Greeks development was, as we have said, primarily a physical fact; secondarily, an intellectual and moral fact. The means unto the end of physical training was the gymnasium. While it is not fitting in an ethnic history to describe the details of Greek gymnastics considered as a fact, it is entirely proper to examine the same as a system peculiar to the evolution of the Greek character. The gymnasia were a part of the public and private life of the Greeks. The class of exercises having as their primary object the development of the physical life of the people stood between the youth and the state; and they continued to stand between the man and the state.

Greek development first physical, afterwards intellectual.

The principle was of universal application. No Greek youth could reach citizenship except by the way of the gymnasium. The object of the culture to be thus attained was the man himself, his bodily development, his strength, his activity, his beauty. The remoter reference was to the duties of citizenship. It was intended that the man should be fitted for his duties in life by means of the gymnasia; and to this extent they were public institutions; but the bottom idea was that of individual development and perfection, the symmetrical and perfect evolution of the human body to its highest degree of excellence and strength.

Citizenship to be attained only by way of the gymnasium.

In the primitive life of the Greek tribes the gymnasia were simply open spaces where the youth were congregated and trained in exercises by their masters. From the first a wide space, much room, was required for the exertions which, beginning in sport, ended in discipline. The sport itself was a part of the discipline. A large and free exercise of the bodily organs can not be effected in a confined space. The limbs can not be stretched except on the race course and by running and leaping free and far. Soon the gymnastic resorts in the open space were converted into gymnasia proper. Every city had them. In Athens there were three great institutions of the sort. A shady grove suitable for a resort and promenade was generally selected. Within the inclosure there were areas for wrestling; others, for casting the quoit; others, for hurling the javelin; and others still for the extended race. Attached to the gymnasia were buildings where the gymnasts might bathe, anoint their bodies, rub themselves with sand, or apply the scraper in developing and cleansing the skin. In one point porticoes were set apart for games, for conversation, for promenade, and social amusement. Others still were apportioned to the spectators who had themselves passed through the exercises in their youth. Within the arena were altars dedicated to the gods, ornamented with statues, garlanded with flowers.

Evolution and character of the Greek gymnasia.

The gymnastic apparatus of the Greeks was exceedingly simple as compared with the ingenious contrivances of modern times. The youth was projected

OLYMPIC GAMES.—Drawn by O. Kuille.

into his sports and training much as any young animal might be flung into the water to learn to swim. The exercises themselves were the natural actions of the human body, rarely artificial. First of all the boy, the young man, even the middle-aged, contestant, must run. An extended course was prepared for this purpose. As a rule, the bottom was of loose, dry sand. It was not intended to furnish the feet with a solid vantage from which to bound, but rather to impede the progress of the runner by the uncertainty of his footing. In the advanced stages of the exercise the runner was weighted with armor, sometimes complete, sometimes only a shield and helmet. Naked was he who bounded through the deep sand, like the splendid young animal that he was, straining for the goal.

Simplicity of the gymnastic apparatus and method.

Of all the Greek gymnastic sports the race was the favorite. The runners attained a marvelous speed. Some of them were swifter than horses; and their endurance as they came in, after the long race, where the judges sat and the garland was waiting—came in with distended nostrils and uplifted arms and flashing eyes—was sublime.

Particular forms of the disciplinary exercises.

Next came leaping. There was the high leap and the distant leap. No artificial aid was permitted. It was the natural spring of the muscles or nothing. In some stages of the leaping exercise and contest weights were taken in the hands and flung behind for momentum as the leaper rose in the air; but some such simple contrivance to give momentum was all that was allowed. In this case the muscular force of the arms was added to the power of the legs for the sudden exertion. Then came the throwing of the javelin. The shaft of the implement must be wound with a thong and hurled with a rotary motion from the hand. In this contest accuracy of aim and distance of the target were the two desiderata.

DISCOBOLUS MAKING THE CAST.
Drawn by H. Volz, from the original in the Palazzo Massini.

The well-informed mind may readily perceive how great is the superiority of this rational, and we might almost say scientific, exertion of the body as a means unto an end when compared with

Superiority of rational to barbaric training.

the results and methods attained by the blow-guns and bows of savages. The native of the Upper Amazon is able, through his blow-gun with a small arrow, to take the life of a monkey in a distant tree-top; but how unlike is such activity, half-empirical and half-savage, to that truly skillful action of the Greek as he sent his spear a-flying into the eye of the distant target! The one is the adroitness of the *implement*, the other the skill of the *man*.

GREEK CHARIOT.—From a vase painting.

Throwing the discus; the discoboli.

Throwing the discus was a Homeric sport. The heroes, in their recreation from war, took heavy circular plates of bronze or iron, perhaps eight inches in diameter, and holding the quoit in the hand, swinging it by the side with a stooping posture, sent it whirling with great force to a mark as far removed as might possibly be reached. The Greeks were a right-handed people. Before the discus was flung it was carried in the left hand, so that the right might reserve its strength for the throwing. These facts entered into Greek art, and the famous statues called *discoboli* show us the attitudes of the throwers.

Greek gymnasia never degenerated into cruelty.

It were vain to enumerate all the methods of gymnastic training which the Greeks practiced in the development of their bodies. This skillful and persistent exercise was one of the leading elements in the product of that wonderfully elastic body which the son of Hellen carried with him in peace and war. And it must be said to the everlasting praise of the Greeks, that notwithstand-

ing the purely physical character of this development, notwithstanding the fact that they were a people to whom the heartful sympathies of life were comparatively unknown, the Greek gymnasia never degenerated into cruelty, torture, butchery. The idea of the beautiful remained in the ascendent to the last. The horrid struggle of man and beast, and of maddened prisoners of war turned loose with swords in the arena, never disgraced the Greek race or stained even its dying twilight with the tinge of blood.

The Greek hippodrome; splendor of the chariot racing.

It is probable that in the latter days the Greek gymnastic contest ceased to have respect to the development of the man, and became a spectacle; but it was always beautiful. The æsthetic spirit of the race never permitted the public games to sink below the old ideal standard. Chariots and horses were at length brought upon the race course, and the most magnificent driving ever seen in the dust of the poor world was that exhibited in the circus of the Greeks. With four tremendous steeds abreast, the standing driver, with reins gathered up and fiery eye and serpent whip that split the shining air, stinging like a hornet as it fell on the foaming flanks of the coursers, screamed his defiance at his rival and urged madly forward to the goal; but there was no blood, no brutality; only the struggle of strength with strength and skill with skill in the mightiest personal contests which were ever witnessed by an excited and shouting populace.

CHAPTER XLIX.—THE HELLENIC TONGUE.

SUCH were the methods and processes by which Greek life was brought to maturity. It was intended to be a maturity of action and beauty—beauty as its subjective, and action as its objective, expression. It is impossible now to enter into the thought of a Greek father and determine precisely to what extent, as he submitted his boy to the gymnasium, he looked upon physical culture as a means of developing the youth himself and to what extent he looked beyond to his usefulness in the state. Both ideas were present. Both influenced his conduct and determined his motives; and if we pass from private to public opinion, we shall find that that also looked first to the beautiful, the strong, in the youth himself and afterwards in the man, but also contemplated the usefulness and fitness of the man as a block in the state.

Ideas underlying the discipline of the Greeks.

But there was also a gymnastic for the tongue and the brain. While the body was brought to perfection through the agency of physical training, the tongue was led into rational and beautiful action by the vehicle of the most excellent speech yet devised by man. The Greek language may be regarded in the light of a mental gymnastic. It was the apparatus for the expression of mental activities which were as vehement in their kind as were the restless energies of the body. We are here to regard the language in the light of an apparatus by which Greek thought found expression and the Greek mind was perfected.

A gymnastic for the brain as well as the body.

PERICLES PRONOUNCING THE FUNERAL ORATION OF THE ATHENIAN SOLDIERS.

It is the part of philosophy rather than of history to determine the relations of brain action, of thought, to oral speech, to language. It is perhaps not yet determined precisely to what extent the one is dependent on the other for its existence, to what extent all thought stands waiting for the word which is to be its vehicle of revelation. We may regard the word as the avatar of the idea. The spoken form is the corporate tangible fact necessary for the expression of the incorporate, intangible essence. It may be fitting to say that ideality in its abstract form may exist in the human mind, or, to use the tangible agent, in the human brain, without the concomitant of words; but that ideality can only be coined into thought through the agency of language. As ideality is resolved into ideas, notions, thoughts, propositions, it passes from the intangible or spiritual condition into the tangible expression and definition of language.

Consideration of the relations of thought and speech.

However this question may be resolved, there can be no doubt that there was a strict correlation between the prodigious energies and beautiful evolutions of the Greek mind and that wonderful language on which the thought of the race was sent abroad into the world. The one was no more varied, excursive, and grand than the other was copious, elastic, and powerful. It is only a truism to say that even the caprices of the Greek mind found satisfactory vent through the caprices of the language. Hellenic thought either found a way of expression or made one. It was almost as easy to make as to find. So vital and new were the Greek tongues in the times of the rapid evolution of the race that all new moods and tenses of the Hellenic mind flowed out on the ever-branching stems of the equivalent speech.

Strict correspondence of the Greek mind and language.

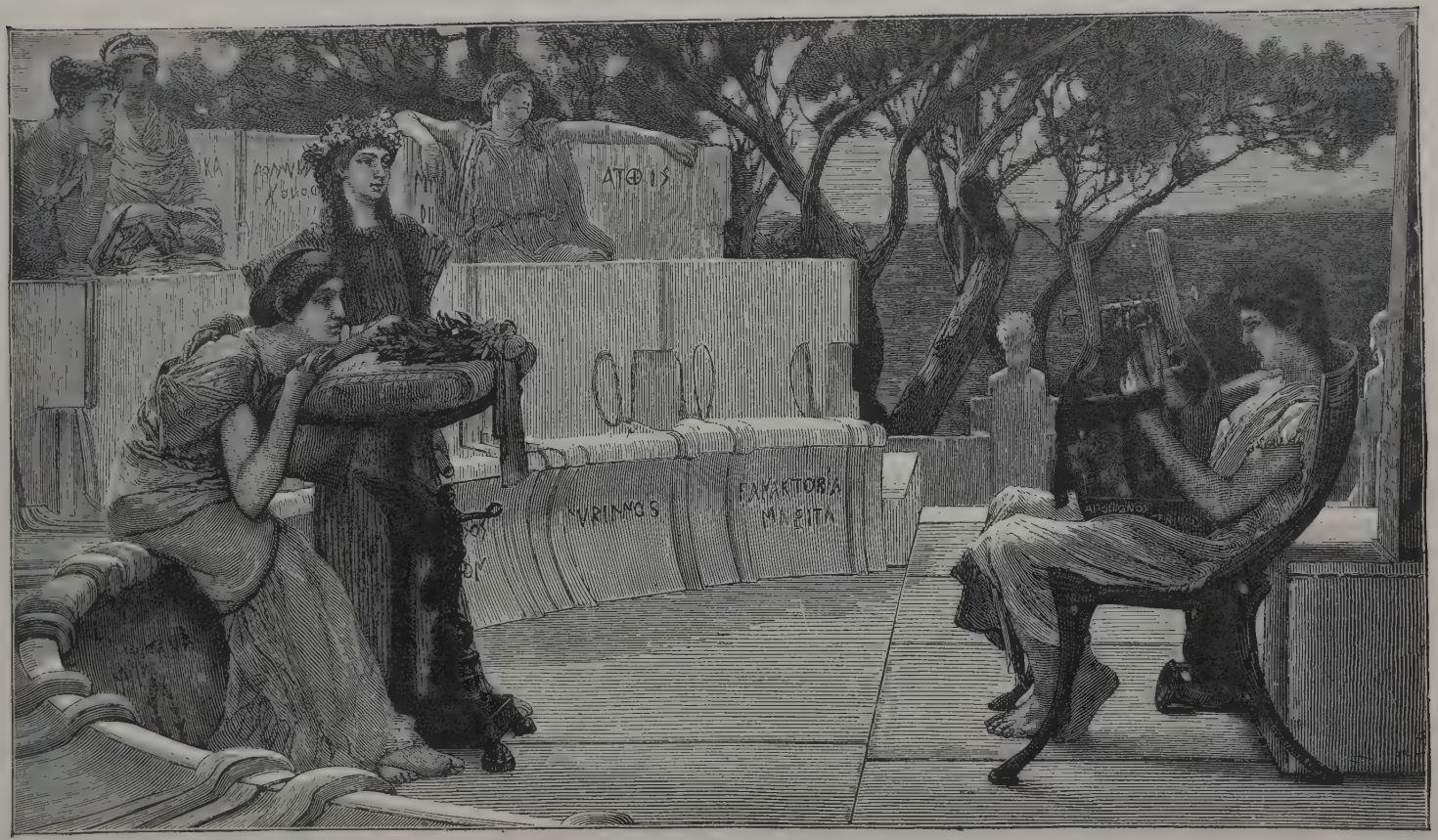
Something has already been said of the dialectical divergencies of Greek as illustrative of the ethnic divisions of the family. We shall now again call up the Hellenic dialects and view them as the means unto the end of development among the different branches of the people. On the incoming of the Hellenes into European Greece the language was still in the growing stage. Much of its structure had been already determined during the ages of migration, but much still remained for expansion and growth before the tongue should reach its perfection in the hands of the Attic historians, poets, and orators.

Rise of the Greek dialects; Æolic the oldest form.

The oldest form, then, in which the Greek language became fixed and determinate was Æolic. It is in evidence that this dialect was spoken by the migrating tribes before the departure of the Hellenes and the Italians. A critical examination of the primitive Latin tongues shows that they still retained in the west many forms and features so nearly identical with Æolic as to demonstrate the original community of the dialects. This identity extends even to the vowels and diphthongs, which are the most shifting and uncertain parts of speech. The poverty of Latin in diphthongs, as compared with Ionic and Doric Greek, has an exact analogy in Æolic; and the sameness in consonantal structure in the two tongues still further strengthens the argument. From Æolic Greek, therefore, we may regard all the other Hellenic dialects as departures and developments.

Close kinship of the Æolic and Old Latin.

Æolic was spoken in four principal dialects. The first was *Lesbian*, which is most characteristic of all, limited to



SAPPHO.—After the painting by Alma Tadema, Royal Academy, 1881.

the island of Lesbos, and strongly indicative of the Asiatic origin of the Greeks.

Principal dialectical divergencies of Æolic.

The second variety was *Thessalian*, and doubtfully *Macedonian*, though the latter tongue has never been critically determined in its relations with the languages of the south. The third dialect was *Bœotian*, and the fourth *Elean* and *Arcadian*, the latter belonging to the Peloponnesus. Modern critics have found that the dialects of Elis and Arcadia are rather Doric Greek than Æolic, though the latter may have been the original root. In Lesbos are several inscriptions which still preserve the ancient forms of the language; and the extant fragments of the poems of Alcæus and Sappho furnish literary examples of the same.

Low tone and other peculiarities of this form of Greek.

One of the striking features of the language as illustrated in these works is the absence of ultimate or final accent. Words which in Ionic and Doric Greek are accented on the last syllable throw back the accent in Æolic, just as in Latin. Another striking peculiarity is the heavy, or baritone, quality of the vowels. What may be called the *high tone* of the Ionic vowels is wanting in Æolic. Another feature is the absence of the rough breathing which was so common in Ionic and Doric words. The digamma, or *vav*, which, on account of its heavy character, dropped out of classical Greek, was retained in Æolic, especially in the Bœotian dialect—another example of the strong affinity of Æolic and Latin. The short *e* and the short *o* of Greek were originally represented by *a* in Æolic, furnishing a good example of what is called the "dulling" of vowel sounds. The vowel *alpha* also appeared in many words where long *e* (*η*) took its place in Ionic. In short, it is evident that Æolic Greek had *alpha* for its primary vowel sound, the evolution not having proceeded far enough to include the wide range of vocalic utterance exhibited in the South Greek dialects.

Characteristics of the Bœotian tongue.

The language of the Bœotians is but little known, and that only from inscriptions. The few specimens that have been preserved are also inflected with Ionic words and constructions. Though it is clear that the Bœotian language was deduced from the Æolic stem, it nevertheless had much in common with Ionic Greek. The accent was not thrown back as in Æolic. The Bœotians, instead of rejecting the rough breathing, had a fondness for its use. They also sympathized with the southern forms of speech in preserving the ancient *tau* (*τ*) instead of employing *sigma* (*σ*), as did the Æolians. In other peculiarities also it is evident that the transformation toward the Ionic forms of speech was going on among the Bœotian tribes. In an age of free growth it could but happen that the neighboring clans would assimilate each from the other the forms of speech which they used in intercourse. All the dialects in Greece were shaded off at the margin into the tongues of the adjacent peoples.

Elean and Arcadian dialects of Æolic.

As already said, the original languages of Elis and Arcadia have been much discussed as to their stem connections. In this country the intermingling of forms was between Æolic and Doric dialects. Some modern scholars have been of the opinion that the languages of these two Peloponnessian states are essentially Dorian, and that the notion hitherto existing of an Æolian origin is to be wholly rejected. This change of view would extend also to the Greek tongue of Cyprus. It is certain that the colonists of this island were

Etruscan.		Greek.		Coptic.		Arabic.		Ethiopic and Amharic.	
A A A	a	A α	a	ⲁ ⲁ	a	ا	a	ሀ	h
B	b	B β	b	ⲃ ⲃ	b,v	ب	b	ለ	l
C) K	k,g	Γ γ	g	ⲅ ⲅ	g	ت	t	ሐ	hh
1 +	t,d	Δ δ	d	ⲇ ⲇ	d	ث	thin	መ	m
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8	f			ⲋ ⲋ	f	ح	h	ረ	r
I ↑		Z ζ	z	ⲍ ⲍ	z	خ	kh	ሰ	s
B	h	H η	ē	ⲏ ⲏ	ei	د	d	* ሸ	sh
		Θ θ	th	ⲑ ⲑ	th	ذ	then	ቀ	k
I	i	I ι	i	ⲓ ⲓ	i	ر	r	በ	b
		K κ	k c	ⲕ ⲕ	k	ز	z	ተ	th
↓	l	Λ λ	l	ⲗ ⲗ	l	س	s	* ቸ	tj
M M M M	m	M μ	m	ⲙ ⲙ	m	ش	sh	ኀ	kh
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P P P	r	P ρ	r	ⲣ ⲣ	r	ف	f	ዐ	a
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V Y	u v	Υ υ	u	ⲩ ⲩ	i,y,ŭ	ل	l	ደ	y
		Φ φ	ph	ⲫ ⲫ	ph	م	m	ዸ	d
		X χ	ch	ⲭ ⲭ	ch	ن	n	* ጀ	dj
		Ψ ψ	ps	ⲯ ⲯ	ps	ه ة	h	ገ	g
		Ω ω	ō	ⲱ ⲱ	ō	و	w	ጠ	t
				ϫ ϫ	g	ى	y	* ጨ	tsch
				ϭ ϭ	sk			ጰ	p
				ϣ ϣ	sh			ጸ	tz
				ϩ ϩ	h			ፀ	z
				ϧ ϧ	kh			ፈ	f
								ፐ	p

The characters which belong only to the Amharic alphabet are marked with an asterisk.

ANCIENT GREEK AND RELATED ALPHABETS.

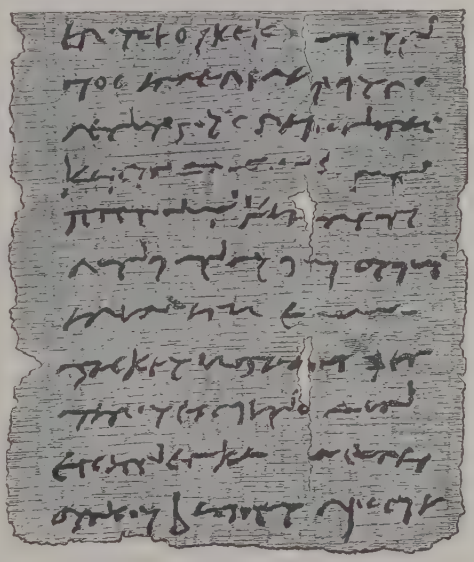
in part Arcadians. The fact that the inscriptions of Cyprus are not written in the Greek alphabet has greatly embarrassed antiquarian research, and made a decision respecting the Cyprian language exceedingly difficult. On the whole, the dialects of Æolic, or the language itself considered in its entirety, must be regarded as the least important of all varieties of Greek.

The second general branch of the Hellenic languages was Doric. It has two aspects, an older and a more recent form. The first sympathizes with Æolic in its construction and vocabulary, and the second with Ionic Greek. The older form covers the original tongues of Laconia, Crete, Cyrene, and the Greek colonies in Southern Italy. The more recent Doric embraces the languages of Argolis, Messenia, and Megara, of the Dorian countries in Northern Greece, and of the colonies belonging to the Greek race in Asia Minor and Sicily. The fundamental difference between the older and the more recent variety of Doric is the use in the former of *omega* (ω) and *eta* (η) instead of the softened diphthongs *ou* (ου) and *ei* (ει) in the milder dialect. There were also other vocalic differences between the two forms of speech and some consonantal discrepancies.

Ethnic and geographical limits of Doric Greek.

The ancient language of the *Laconians*, or Spartans, is known to us from inscriptions and from fragments of the folk speech preserved in the comedies of Aristophanes. Thucydides gives a single treaty recorded in the Spartan dialect. The sculptured tablets of Heraclea, found at Tarentum, in Southern Italy, and preserved in the museum of Naples, also present specimens of the old Laconian language. Other inscriptions have been recovered from the island of Crete, embracing certain ancient treaties between the towns of the island. At Olympia a helmet and several inscriptions have been found containing the old *Argolic* dialect. Some interesting tablets from Messenia have been recovered on which were carved the doctrine of certain of the gods; but in these inscriptions the language is found to be of a later date (about 90 B. C.). The dialect spoken in Corinth has been recovered in part from inscriptions at Cor-

Fragments of Laconian preserved in treaties.



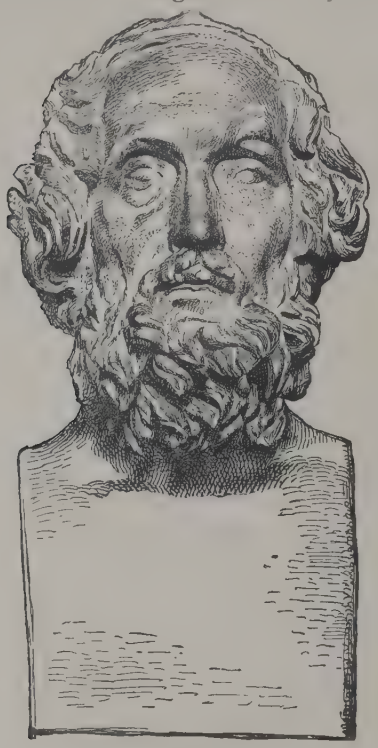
FACSIMILE OF ANCIENT GREEK MANUSCRIPT.
From Lord Strangford's papyri, British Museum.

cyra and Syracuse; and a few examples of the Locrian language, also Doric in its origin, have been obtained from a bronze tablet on which are written the terms of an ancient treaty.

The Doric language as distinguished from Ionic was a slow, emphatic form of speech, more suitable for the brief conversation of warriors than for the discourse of philosophers, the measures of poets, or orations from the bema. It was a serious language, having little of the lightness and airy structure of the

Distinctions between Doric and Ionic forms of speech.

Ionic in its later developments. It might be called the Anglo-Saxon stage of Attic Greek. It must not be understood, however, that the difference between the brief and severe forms of Doric and the elegant and easy inflections of Ionic were differences in age of development more than a difference in the genius of the two dialects. All of the roughness, the laconic demeanor, the austerity, and uncurbed force of the mountaineers of Lacedæmon are reflected in the dialect which they spoke. The one is as the other—the tone of the language is a reflection of the character of the people.



HOMER.
Drawn by E. von Liphart.

There were several specific features of Doric Greek by which the tongue was discriminated in practice from Ionic. The language was much more *oxytone*, to use the grammatical term, than was the speech of the Ionians; that is, the Doric accents were lifted from grave to acute and thrust forward to the more advanced syllables of the words, thus giving a sort of sharpness, almost a shriek, to the utterance of the language—a peculiarity which the Ionians in their speech sought to avoid. In addition to this, the Dorians retained the old, heavy digamma, or *vav* (*F*), long after it had disappeared from the politer forms of Greek. In the old Laconian, Argolian, and Corinthian inscriptions the *vav* appears in nearly every case in which we find a *v* in the corresponding Latin words. Besides this, the Dorians were fond of doubling their consonants in cases where the Ionians used only a single letter; for example, *hessos* (ἔσσος) for hesos (ἔσος); messos (μέσσος) for mesos (μέσος), etc. This peculiarity put strength and energy into the middle of the word instead of lightness and activity. Still again, it was the Dorian usage to employ the ancient guttural *koppa* (ϙ) in preference to the recent and delicate *kappa* (κ) or any other smooth equivalent. Thus in Doric we have *ϙorinthoi* instead of *Corinthoi*, etc. The foregoing peculiarities were sufficient to make a strong contrast between the languages of the Spartans and the Athenians even to the time when the shadow of Rome impended over both.

Oxytone character and archaïc forms of Doric.

The great language of the Greeks was the Ionic, in its several stages of growth. The Old Ionic was the dialect of the epic poets, the language of Homer and the Cyclic bards. The New Ionic was the second stage of literary development, and is represented in the pages of Herodotus and Hippocrates;

Historical development of Ionic Greek.

while the third evolution, or Attic, gave to the world the great literary productions of classical Greece. The Attic dialect was itself subdivided into three stages of growth, the Old, the Middle, and the New. It was in the New Attic that the Greek language reached its final leafage and efflorescence in the graceful forms and delicate peculiarities which were cultivated at the high noon of Athenian splendor.

Stages from the pre-Homeric to the post-Attic speech.

We must bear in mind, however, that here again exact lines of division hinder as much as they help a clear understanding of the actual growth of the Greek language from its pre-Homeric origin to its post-Attic decline. This is to say that the progress from the old, or epic, tongue into the language of Herodotus was *gradual*. In the pages of Homer there are many forms of expression which the bard had gathered from the archaïc and extinct forms of speech; and there are also hints of the new forms which the Father of History was afterwards to reduce to system and regularity. So also in the transformation of Herodotean Greek into Attic—there was never a break; but at certain times slight modifications grew into serious changes. Old forms were abandoned and new forms adopted until, quite unawares—though after the lapse of some generations—a dialect distinct from the preceding had arisen. All the way down the process is one of gradual transformation and growth, involving the substitution of more elegant and highly inflected forms of expression for the archaisms of the older poets.

It is not our purpose to enter into a review of the language of Homer or Herodotus or Thucydides or any other Greek author representative of a stage in linguistic development. We here look upon the language simply in process of transformation, and as a vehicle and instrument of the race evolution of the Greeks. One thing must be understood before the reader may apprehend the peculiar effect of their speech upon the Hellenes themselves. Of all men, only the Greek has been *conscious* of his language. It is the most striking feature of the linguistic history of mankind. The son of Hellen was all the time conscious of the form in which his speech was given forth, and was in the last degree particular as to the accuracy and beauty of his expression. In this respect he differs from every type of man who has simply given forth his utterance unconsciously.

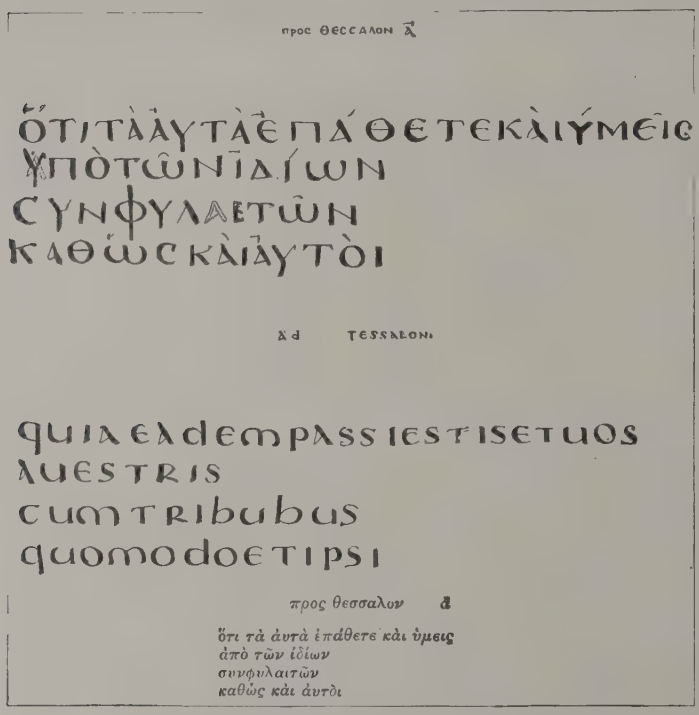
Peculiar consciousness of the Greeks respecting language.

As a rule, the mind is confused with the double process of thinking and speaking if both be consciously performed; but the Greek not only carried forward both processes at once—the subjective union of concepts and the objective forms of utterance—but at the same time he hung about every part of his speech the flowers and leafage of his imagination. We here speak of Ionic Greek, of the perfected Attic language as it was spoken and written in the days of its splendor.

Of his native tongue the Greek was as proud as he was of his descent from Hellen or even from the gods. His language was the one fundamental distinction between him and the barbarians. He called them *Barbaroi* because of their jargon—because they *jabbered* and could not speak, at least with Hellenic elegance. He sought perfection in his words, in his manner of utterance, and in every detail of expression. Dissonance was avoided as something odious; and to misplace an accent was a greater

Pride of the Greeks in attaining perfection of speech.

crime than to violate a treaty. Not only did the scholars, the learned, and élite of the Ionians thus cultivate the delicacies and perfections of their language; but the very rabble, the democracy, the shopkeepers, the marketers, and *vulgus profanum* of the agora emulated the dialectical purity of their superiors, and spoke Greek even as they. It is narrated that when a great oration was spoken from the pnyx, the very fishwomen would cry out in derision if the orator mispronounced or misaccented a single word. It was a linguistic pride, a parallel for which we should seek in vain among the characteristics of any other people.



SPECIMENS OF OLD AND LATER GREEK.

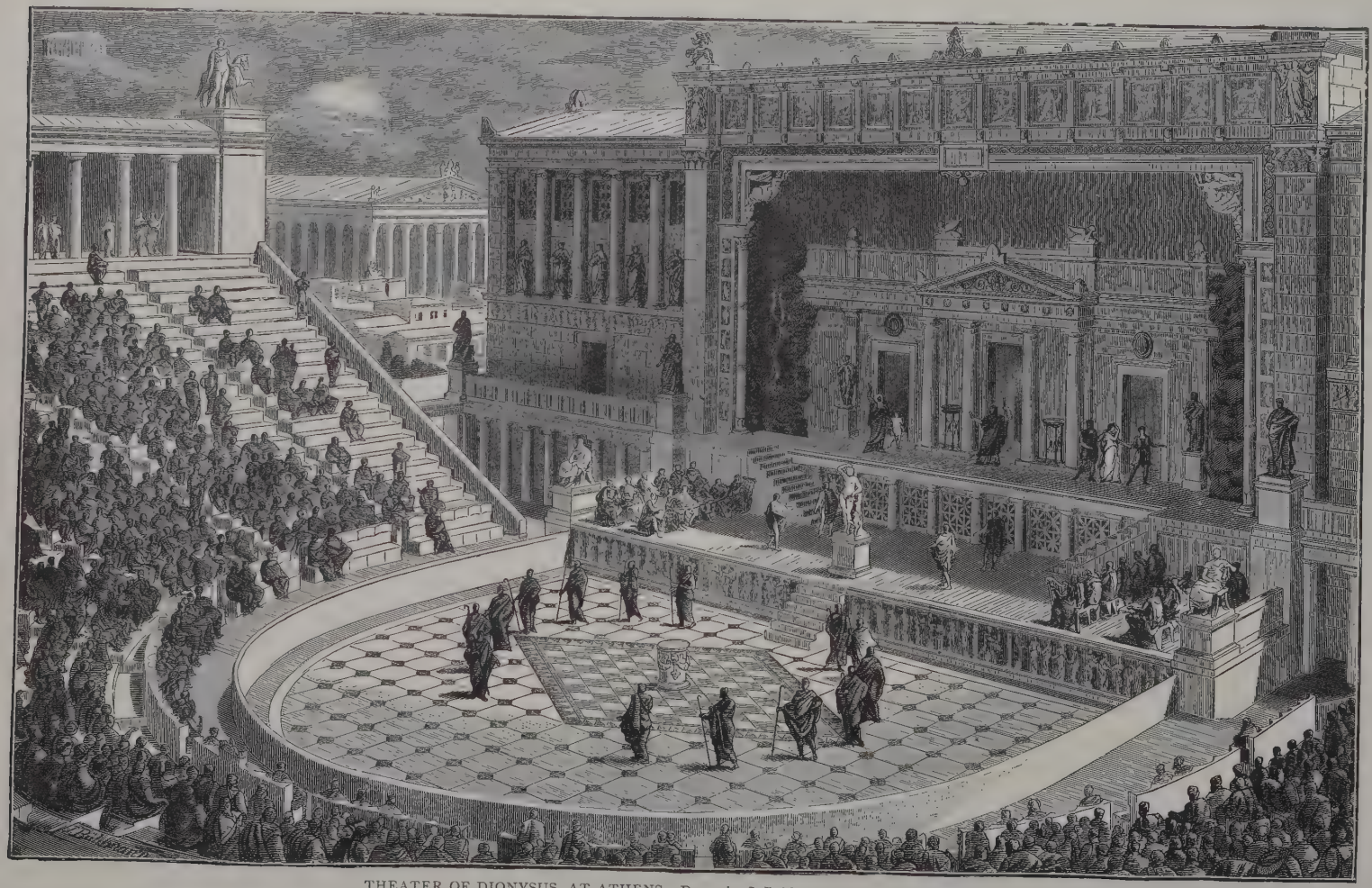
The Greek language was perfected in all of its parts. The orthography was reduced to regularity. The accentuation and intonation were far purer and more exact than we should find in the language of any modern people. The quality of the vowels was very musical. In a certain sense the language was *chanted*. The sharp and piping sound of Latin, traceable to the large use of the vowels *i* and *u*, was avoided in Greek. The prevalent vocalic elements were alpha (*a*), omicron (*o*), epsilon (*ε*).

Regularity and purity of the language.

The assimilation of the consonants gave euphony and ease of utterance; and the freedom of syntactical disposition enabled the speaker or writer to arrange his period or verse with reference to the highest harmony. The variety of diphthongs gave a pleasing vicissitude of vowel sound (*ου*, *αυ*, *αι*, *ει*, *υι*), while the careful observation of the quantity of the vowels made the language as rhythmic and billowy as a chant.

The Greek vocabulary was extremely copious. It was not so much an abundance of roots — though in this respect the Greek tongue was richer than any cognate dialect— but rather in the multiplicity of inflections. The words grew into many forms expressive of the diverse ideas which hovered about a given notion or thought. The law of growth was so free and the evolution of new forms so natural and varied that the vocabulary expanded as freely as the thought of the people. Herodian is said

Copiousness of the Greek vocabulary; the accents.



THEATER OF DIONYSUS, AT ATHENS.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann, after recent excavations.
To the left, seats for spectators and part of the colonnade; in foreground, orchestra, proscenium, stage.

to have fixed the accents in accordance with the linguistic law and usage of his age on sixty thousand Greek words, this, too, in an age when no technical science had demanded its additional stock of terms. This vast verbal development had been produced exclusively by the lively fancy, the vivid imagination, and the profound reasoning of the Greek mind, which happily found or created for itself a vehicle of speech as copious and ornamental as the thought of the race was vast and efflorescent.

Should we descend into the details of the Greek language, we should be struck in the first place with the completeness and beauty of the verb. It would perhaps be difficult to invent any form of action which was not susceptible of expression by the verb of the Greek. The law of formation for the various moods and tenses was wellnigh perfect in its kind. The three general divisions of time were carefully discriminated; and in the past the distinction between Aorist, Imperfect, and Perfect was precisely marked. The so-called grammatical Voice had all three divisions, Active, Middle, and Passive. If the Middle voice was not so fully employed in practice as the other two, it was doubtless equal to all demands for the peculiar reflective action which it was designed to express. The three persons blossomed out in full endings, as did also the three numbers, in both cases to indicate the relations of the action to the character of the subject. If the old dual number of the primitive Aryan speech had almost disappeared from the Greek, it was because the discerning experiences of the race had shown the inutility of such a distinction. Through the whole development of a given verb, through all of its augments, reduplications, changing stems, and waving terminations, the vital root idea rose and expanded as if it were the heart of a branching tree, in whose boughs sat all the winged creatures of thought.

Completeness and beauty of verbal development.

It was the peculiarity of Greek that it was able to express the most refined and delicate modifications in the ideas and thought of the sentence. To this end the so-called *modifiers*, particularly the adjectives, had an expansion altogether in excess of that presented by any other European language, ancient or modern. The adjective took its station by the side of the noun, assumed its terminations, sought its likeness, and conformed to its methods of development; but it far outblossomed any mere noun. It sprang out into three numbers, three genders, five cases, and three degrees of comparison, each marked by its own variation in adjectival structure. The whole organism presented no fewer than one hundred and thirty-five inflections —a thing marvelous in the history of human speech. Even the stoical and inert adverb shared in the common leafage and put out terminations like a thing of life. Verb, noun, pronoun, adjective, adverb, all rejoiced in growth and expansion, the outputting of branches, the evolution of living leaves. Through all this the breezes blew, and the whole organic structure trembled as the thing thought rose vitally into the tree of speech and became visible in the flowers and foliage. Even the remotest twigs of this vital and beautiful organic whole quivered with the life which was common to all. The Greek particles, those infinitesimal toyships of language which have been the puzzle and provocation of all translators in all countries—hung up, as it were, at the tip ends and on the finest filaments of Greek thought—swayed to

Delicacy of the modifying elements; the particles.

and fro under the stress of expression, and performed their pleasing part in unison with the more magisterial organs of the language.

Perspicacity of Greek; difficulties of perfect expression.

The perspicacity of Greek was as marked a feature of the language as its delicacy of expression. Whoever has much handled the implement of human speech and has observed with care the difficulties and perplexities with which the exact expression of thought by means of words and constructions is embarrassed, will have discovered that perfect precision, perfect correlation between the thought and the verbal form, is unattainable in any living language. How great are the imperfections of speech in this respect will not be readily apprehended by any who have not striven for exactitude in the use of language; for strive as we may, perfect precision can never be attained.

The vehicle of the comparatively grammarless tongues in use by the modern nations is not sufficiently elastic to conform perfectly to the details and niceties of thought. As a result, there is in the best books of modern literature a prodigious amount of blundering in the language. The insufficiency of every modern tongue to express with perfection the conceptions of great or even middle minds is painful to one whose sensibilities on this subject have not been dulled by the poverty and rudeness of his own language.

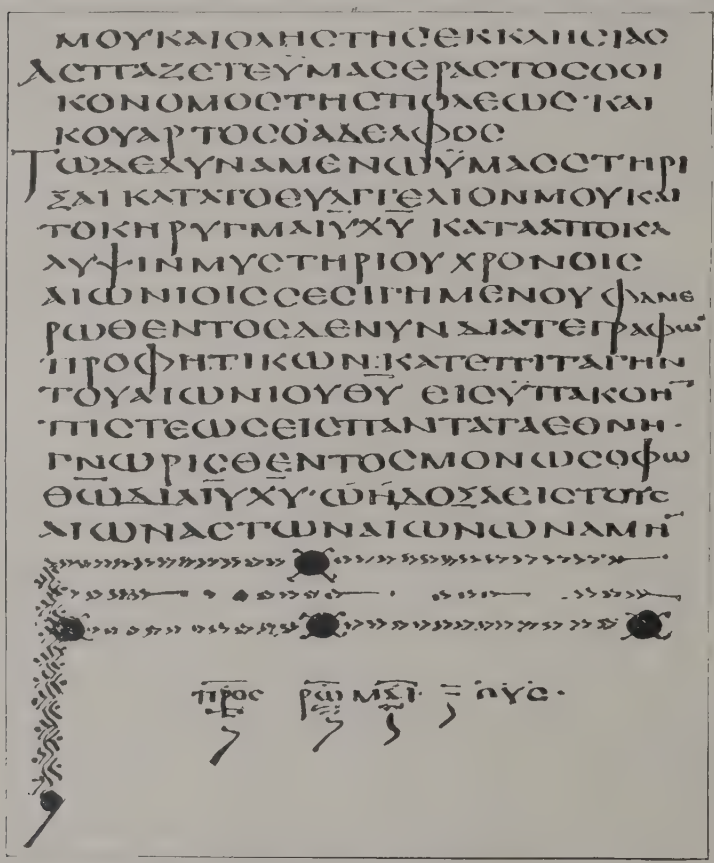
Blundering in Attic Greek well-nigh impossible.

In Greek all of this evil disappears. It is really marvelous to note the exact and perfect transcript of thought which may be effected in the better forms of Greek. In pure Attic, for instance, all blundering or departure from the accurate delineation of the thinker's ideas is not only inexcusable, but is superficially manifested in the language itself. Any blunder or want of perfect accord is immediately shown by a flaw in the construction as manifest to the eye as would be a scar from a hatchet on a piece of cabinet work. The language *fits* in all its parts, and the surface, though it palpitates and heaves under the living impulses within, is as smooth as well adjusted plumage or the fur of a seal.

All error revealed in the form of the expression.

A ruffle on the exterior of Greek is a mistake, a wound. The language is incapable of hiding an error. All that unconscious ambiguity and unintentional equivocation which so abound in the best modern literature disappear from Greek like impurities from quicksilver. They are squeezed out of the living fluid which shines and sparkles and is clean and perfect even in the dirt. In the best days of Greek the language had risen to an organic and spiritual purity which it was impossible to defile. The details of the language, even its smallest particles, stood like sentinels to prevent the intrusion of obscurity, the touch and pollution even of the small dust of corruption. The Greek articles were so adjusted as to compel the perspicuity of every phrase and clause. "The doors of the houses are closed," says our sturdy English speech, and the meaning is clear; but if echo takes up the last three words, saying "houses are closed," the meaning of the original sentence is falsified with the final words of its own utterance. "The sons of the dead veterans we saw marching," says our own strong tongue, and echo cries out "dead veterans we saw marching," as if we had beheld their ghosts. But such mockeries out of echoland can never arise from Greek. Greek says, "The of the houses doors are closed;" and echo repeats "doors are closed,"

thus verifying instead of contradicting our utterance. Greek says, "The of the dead veterans sons we saw marching," and echo repeats "sons we saw marching." The ghosts have disappeared; for in Greek no ghost, no shadow, no bantering of a double sense was possible.



FACSIMILE OF ANCIENT GREEK MANUSCRIPT.

Here was a compactness of structure for which we should look in vain in any other speech. Let us not think, however, that the unmistakable sense so admirably woven into these words of the Hellenes depended for its perfection upon mere compactness. On the contrary, the Greek sentence is plastic. It may be worked like wax, and still the integrity of thought be preserved. It may be attenuated—drawn out until its clauses are anatomically displaced and almost disjointed—until only the thin ligaments of sentential structure hold together the displaced and tortured organs. Still it lives; still it is the same; still the thought is as whole and unmistakable in form and feature as it was before the sentence was stretched upon the wheel. If a bit of Greek thus tortured into fantastic form be translated into another language, and the syntactical shape of the original be followed or imitated, the translation will be a monster in linguistic physiology. "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, *lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.*" Thus saith the English rendering, but what saith the Greek? *Which* beasts are to turn and rend you? Is it the *swine* or the *dogs?* Which of them trample the pearls under their feet? In Greek, the italic clause, though so far detached, answers the dogs, *only*, turn again and rend you; the swine, *only*, trample the

Capacity of Greek for attenuation and displacement.

pearls under their feet. There is no confusion expressed and none possible, no ambiguity or hint of equivocation. So long as the parts of the sentence hang together, even by the finest filament, the integrity of the whole is preserved.

Intensity of Greek secured by repeating root words.

The intensity of the Greek language was another peculiarity for which we find no parallel. Many ideas slightly variant were expressed by words derived from a common stem, and this common element, echoing through the sentence, intensified the thought to the close. The suggestion of the first word was accented in the second, emphasized in the third, and sent reverberating through all the remainder. The very thing which is so studiously avoided in modern languages, namely, the tautology of sound, was carefully cultivated in Greek. There it was not tautology, but an increasing stress laid upon the thought in the process of its development.

Examples and significance of syllabic tautology.

To the ear only slightly attuned to the harmonies of Greek, an echo is ever present of the idea at first suggested in the subject of the sentence; and of this echo the resonance remains to the close of the paragraph; and as the mind follows the evolution from page to page, there is still a distant murmur caught far off from the horizon of the first suggestion of the theme. "Hŏ *thēr*eutēs ta *thēr*ia *thēr*euei," says the Greek, which our diversified language renders thus: "The hunter pursues the wild beasts." But the fine tautological original runs thus: "The wildbeaster wildbeasts the wildbeasts."[1] Mark the echo. Again the Greek: "Hŏ *poi*ētēs tēn *poi*ēsin *poi*ei;" that is, in English, "The bard creates poesy;" but in Greek, "The maker makes the making;" or, "The poet poets the poesy," or, "The singer sings the singing." In the thirty-second chapter of the *Gorgias* one of the answers of Socrates to Polos is as follows: Toiŏuton *tmē*ma *tĕm*nĕtai tŏ *tĕm*nŏmĕnon hôion tŏ *tĕm*non *tĕm*nei; that is, in an English imitation: "The thing cut is cut such-a-cut-as the thing cutting cuts;" or, "That which is cut is cut such a cut as that which cuts, cuts." Or, as we should say in plain idiom, "The gash in a thing is the shape of the blade that cuts it." Nor is there the slightest sign that Socrates is playing with his words. Polos answers seriously, *Phaínetai*, "so it appears." The big brain of the master is simply refining upon a thought, and his speech bears him naturally, inevitably, into the repetition of the root idea expressed in the syllable *tĕm*. Echo will have it so. It were not elegant Greek unless the creative thought expressed in the first root should roll along the sentence, swelling in intensity to the final cadence.

What may be called the expansibility of Greek was another noted feature. While on the one hand the language was capable of indefinite compression until even a single small word, by its suggestion, could wellnigh contain an epic, on the other hand a word might be evolved of intolerable length, whose meaning would be summarized—but not expressed—in a modern language by a mere monosyllable.

Power of condensation and expansion illustrated.

The Greeks, especially the Dorians, were fond of employing compressed and abbreviated expressions, merely suggestive of the thought or thoughts which they wished to utter. Words and mottoes were frequently engraved on porches, over the entrance to oracles, and in other significant places, so brief as to be enigmatical, but still pregnant

[1] Literally: The *deer*man *deers* the *deers*.

with the weightiest suggestions. One of the words thus frequently employed was the Greek for *if* (εἰ). The variety of senses that might be extracted from this potent hypothetical particle illustrated at once a disposition of the people and a capacity in their language. The ambassadors of Philip came down into Peloponnesus to the stubborn Spartans, threatening destruction for their contumacy. "*If* the Lacedemonians did not immediately submit to Philip; if they did not cease to deal doubly with him; if they did not at once send the usual tokens of earth and water as evidences of their submission, Philip would send an army against them, overwhelm them with his power, and blot the city from existence." The Spartan ephors sat upon this important message, and returned the following answer:

Εἰ—*if!*

Such was the spirit which gave to the term *Laconic* its peculiar significance. On the other hand, we see the Attic Aristophanes, uproarious in his satire, coining with entire freedom and in perfect accordance with Greek composition a single word to express all the articles of fish, flesh, and fowl which were served on the tables of the Greeks. Nor was there anything linguistically absurd in his ponderous term, Lepadotemachoselachogaleokranioleipsanodrimypotrimmatosilphioparaomelitokatakechymenokichlepikossyphophattoperisteralektryonoptengkephalokingklopeleiolagoosiraiobaphetraganopterygon—*Hush!*

Still another beauty of Greek was its harmony. Without doubt, it was one of the most musical tongues ever employed by men. This is not said merely of its limpid and vocalic sweetness. The music of Greek was not the music of Italian. The harmony of the vowel sounds, tender almost as the notes of an Æolian harp, was built upon a harmony of consonantal structure which became stronger and stronger at the base. It was the music of Wagner or of Liszt, as powerful in its lower parts as it was sweet in its highest register.

Harmonious utterance and structure of Greek.

Of course the different dialects varied in the quality of harmony, Æolic being the roughest of all and Ionic the most melodious. It has been thought that the Greek spoken in the islands of the Ægean was the softest of all, having a preponderance of vowels, and being less wind-shaken with consonantal stridor than were the mountain dialects of the interior. Sometimes the Greek word was wrought out like a sigh, having both its terminations in the softest vowel elements. Thus the Ionic word meaning "forever" was *aeikaiai*. On the other hand, the Greek consonants when heaped together, as they many times were, gave to the opposite extreme of the language all the force and vehemence of German. *Phthismos*, as it well might be, was a "wheezing sound;" and *Chronou phthongos* was the "voice of Saturn." There was thus from right to left and from left to right of the great Greek diapason of speech an extent and variety far exceeding that presented on the keyboard of any other linguistic instrument ever invented by man.

Vocalic sweetness combined with consonantal strength.

Even in the earliest ages of Greek literature the harmonious quality of the language came out in full force. Homer knew it as the day knows the clouds and the landscape. Never was such another vehicle of musical rhythm invented in this poor sphere as the old bard's billowy hexameters. It is not the place to illustrate in a scholastic way the harmony and pulse beat of the Homeric verse.

Beauty and resonance of the Homeric hexameters.

It has in it all of the sounds and music of the natural world, its mirth and its sorrow, its whisper and its outcry, its sympathy and its dolor. To the end of time and to the remotest corners of the earth the ear of youth will quicken with delight with those immortal endings down which the cadence of the hexameters falls into silence—*hos mala polla; epeita thea glaucopis Athena; polyphloisboia thalassēs.*

How Ursa Major became a constellation.

The Greek nomenclature was picturesque in the last degree. The commonest of common nouns were in a sense poetical. The animals of the hills and plains were all named out of some quick conceit of their leading attributes. The Greek mind discovered the most striking feature of everything alive, and with the discovery named the object according to this feature. The huge bear of the Pindus gorges was called *ho arctos*, "the bow," for his back was bent up like a bow!

And whoever is curious in such things may here discover the beginnings of that process by which the constellations of heaven were given the names of animals. The supposition that the groups of stars have resemblance to the creatures for which they are named is a mere conceit. It was a freak of language which transferred the animals of the earth to the arch of heaven. The Greek, with his quick discovery of analogies, called the bend of the Great Dipper, *ho arctos*, "the bow." He also called the huge beast with the bent-up back "the bow," *ho arctos.* In after times when it was found that the Dipper was called *arctos*, the undiscerning thought of the discoverer concluded that it meant *the bear!* Presto, ursus was translated from earth to heaven! As a matter of fact, the name *arctos* had been twice conferred by the quick Greek mind, once on an earthly and once on a heavenly object, and the duller mind of posterity could not discover the double reference! Hence we have no constellation of the Bow, and Ursa Major still growls at the North Star. Our little gray squirrel is the mediæval *sciurella*, from the Greek *scioura;* that is, "the little shadetail," from *scios*, "a shadow;" *oura*, "a tail," and *ella*, the Italic diminutive. He was the little fellow who used his tail for a sunshade!

Significance and poetry of the Greek proper names.

Rising into the realm of proper names, the picturesqueness of the language becomes still more striking. The names of men and women were all highly significant. Never would a Greek have given to one of his children a merely senseless epithet to discriminate him from the rest, as if he were a piece of merchandise and his name *a tag.* On the contrary, some vivid picture arose of the circumstances of birth, of the hope and expectancy of father or mother, of promise or possible unpromise in the child himself; and out of these circumstances a poem of one word was composed and given to him for life.

Every Greek was as to his name a living poem. Whenever he was addressed the poem was repeated, and even in the clangor and fury of the agora we may hear the perpetual rhythm of the poetical names by which the Greeks were known. Homeros is the Blind; Alexandros is the Mandefender; Andromache is the Manbattle, and Penelope the Woofmaker. All the way up, from the names of insects to the names of gods, from the names of grass blades and flowers to the names of the eternal stars, the same vivid and poetical concepts and creative abundance of the Greek mind and tongue are exhibited.

Thus far nothing has been said of the introduction of the Greek alphabet and the development of literary expression. As a general fact, the history of writing has its further extremity in shadow and doubt. It is not probable that the actual beginning of the art of writing as it has been practiced by any people, ancient or modern, can ever be discovered. The art begins in obscurity, and is brought up to regularity and effectiveness at the same time that the nation is becoming conscious. The first efforts at writing take place in the unconscious infancy of peoples, into which the light of memory can never reach.

The Greek alphabet and the myth of Cadmus.

The story of the introduction of the Greek alphabet by Cadmus is now remanded to its place among the other myths and legends of the dawn. It is not likely that the knowledge of writing was brought in from Phœnicia or from any other foreign land. Nations do not thus export and import their arts. Cadmus in all probability was himself a primitive Greek. His name means *order*, and he belongs to that mythical period when the chaotic elements of tribal life were giving place to the settled conditions of nationality. He may have been a great leader in the work of reducing the language of the primitive Hellenic tribes to regularity and a written form; but it was many ages before the rude methods of the beginning gave place to the elegant pictorial transcript of Greek thought which the Attic poets and historians were able to produce.

CHAPTER L.—ARTS OF THE GREEKS.

HERE then we are in the morning twilight of the rising arts. Having considered the means which were employed for the development and perfection of Greek life, we may now consider some of its primary manifestations in the production of artistic forms. Doubtless the earliest endeavor of man after he has emerged from barbarism and built for himself a house lies in the direction of adorning his abode. The first addition to the mere structure which houses him from the elements is the token and promise of the whole architectural evolution.

Here may be drawn the line between the necessitous and the æsthetic development of the race. At the first the work is unconsciously done. Perhaps the birds and beasts never use ornamentation. They rise to the level of artisans, but not to the level of artists. A single step beyond, the building powers of the animals would enter the domain of fancy and proceed to ornamentation. Man does, before he is fully conscious, enter the imaginative stage of creation. The forms which he henceforth produces are partly real and partly ideal; and as he progresses toward the light the ideality of his work becomes more and more dominant over the reality until it reaches the limit of pure art.

Desire for the ornamentation of structure limited to man.

In the shadowy pre-Homeric age Greece had already become great in building. We have had occasion in a former book to speak of the massive ruins left behind by the Pelasgians in South-

Greek architecture of the legendary age.

ern Greece. These remains belong to a legendary age of which the Greeks of Homer knew nothing except by tradition. Nor are we able to discover in the Cyclopean walls of Tiryns or in the Gate of the Lions at Mycenæ even the preliminary aspects of Greek art such as it became in the times of Athenian glory; but the Pelasgic Aryans were not really a primitive people, and their art was not a primitive art. They belonged evidently to an age of power and progress. However dimly seen that age may be, it nevertheless existed; and it is no matter of wonder that the Greeks looked with admiration and astonishment upon the relics of what to them, as well as to us, was a prehistoric epoch.

We may safely assert that this old first art of the Greek race—if indeed the Pelasgians were Greeks—fell into disuse and decadence during the heroic convulsions of the Trojan Wars. It is evident that whatever may have been the impulse which carried the Greeks back into Asia on hostile excursions, it drew away from both Peloponnesus and Northern Hellas the energies of the rising states, and for a while paralyzed the artistic as well as the industrial progress of the race. There is a great break between the Homeric age and the real rise of that artistic spirit which prevailed during the classical ages. We may assume that the genius of the people was now

Artistic gap between Homeric age and the Persian wars.

BEGINNINGS OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE.—Gate of the Lions, at Mycenæ, Restored.—Drawn by J. Hoffman.

ripe for an æsthetic development, and that the mighty shock of the Persian wars was the exciting cause of that ar-

KARYATID OF A GREEK TEMPLE.
Drawn by L. Otto

tistic display which has made the age memorable through all time.

Never was a small land so pressed with the shoulders of a coming avalanche as was Greece under the impact of the Persian invasion. Never was such excitement aroused, such vigor displayed in defense. The situation was of a kind to revive all the old superstitions and portents which had been accepted in the primitive ages. Out of the shadows of the past the forms of helmeted gods were seen again as in the days of the Trojan War. The powers on high coöperated with the powers below, and when the torrent of destruction was stayed—when the foe was rolled back from Marathon, Platæa, and Salamis—the heart of the Greeks broke out in joy and thankfulness.

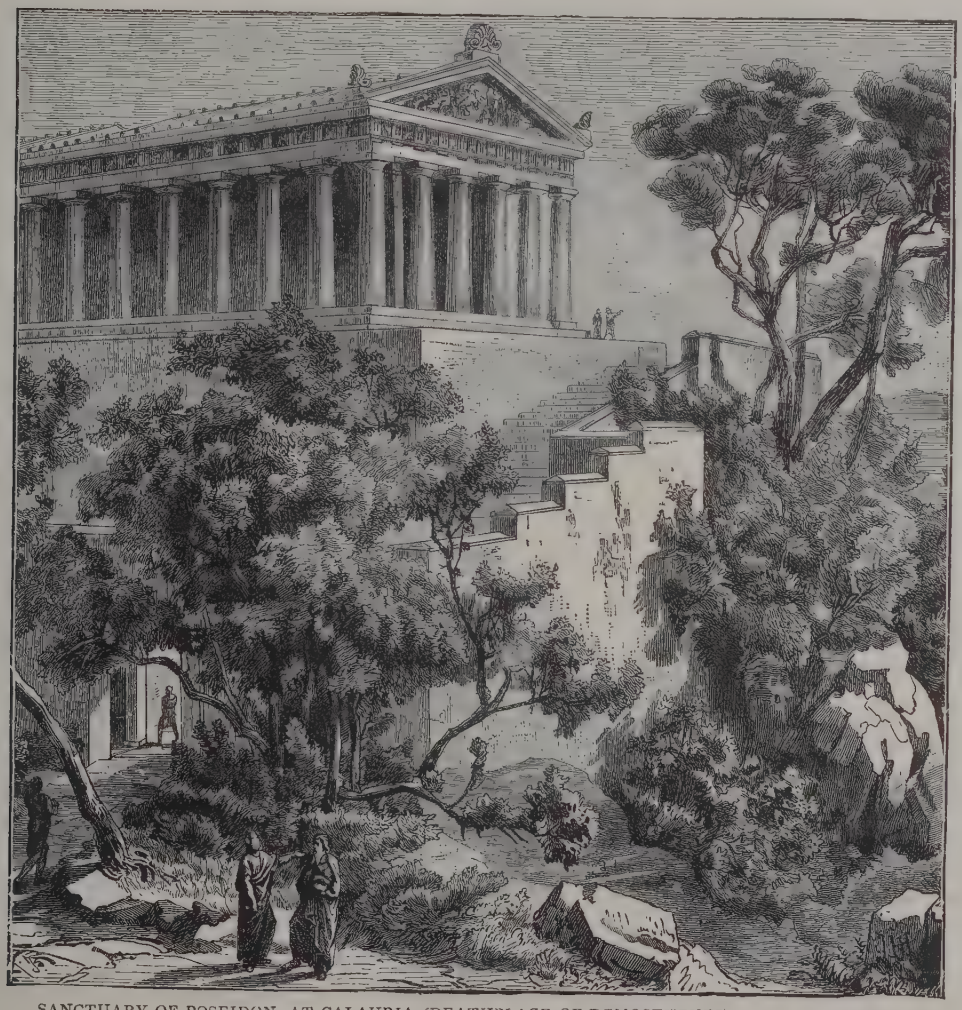
Effects of the Persian invasion and the deliverance of Hellas.

It was a religious revival as well as a baptism of patriotic fire. Here we may find the origin of the temple-building age. The gods must be honored as well as the heroes, and more than the heroes; for the gods were great and immortal. The first splendid forthshowing of Greek architectural genius was therefore in the temples. It is not purposed in this connection to give any elaborate account of the great structures reared by the Greek artists and builders to the glory of their race. It is not known through what primary stages of development the temple passed before taking its final form. The fundamental idea was that of an abode for a given deity, a place where a statue of a god might stand and be admired or worshiped as the visible image of deity. The place within where the statue stood was called the *cella*, and consisted at first of four simple walls and a roof. From this nucleus all the rest of the structure was expanded. About the cella space was made at first for festal processions and for such ceremonies as were fitting for the peculiar worship. The walls were expanded into a parallelogram, having the sides in proportions to the ends as three to two, or

Temple-building age ensued; evolution of the temple.

two to one, or sometimes two and one quarter to one. Supporting columns were added, and finally the exterior of the whole structure became a colonnade with a frieze and metope and cornice decorated in the highest styles of art.

blended somewhat with that of the Dorians and Ionians, finding its expression rather in modifications of their works than in any distinct accomplishment of its own. Of the other two races, Dorian and Ionian, the former stands first in an-



SANCTUARY OF POSEIDON, AT CALAURIA (DEATHPLACE OF DEMOSTHENES).—Drawn by J. Hoffman.

Dorian architecture affected by prehistoric influences.

The old Æolian Greeks were the least artistic in their development. It is not known certainly that any remnants of their works survive. Perhaps, in the course of time, the Æolian genius

tiquity. It is in the Doric architecture that we find most frequent traces of the archaïc rudeness of the past. Here also we note that massive solidity, that severity which always characterizes the art of a people on its first emergence

from the age of mere building. It is easy to see in the remains which the Dorian race has left behind the hints of the heavy Cyclopean walls and immovable bastions of the Pelasgic architecture.

Centers of architectural achievements of the Dorians.

The artistic building of the Dorians found its best expression in three great centers: Sparta, Corinth, and Southern Italy. We have already said something incidentally about the character of the buildings clustered around the market place of Sparta. Its peculiarity was the absence of those elaborate ornaments with which some future developments of Greek art were so elegantly and profusely adorned. In Corinth the building genius of the Dorian race reached its climax. Doubtless many influences derived from the Ionians had here entered into union with the native genius of the Dorian builders and sculptors. It is thought, moreover, that Corinth was at the first an Æolian city; but if so, it was at an age anterior to the artistic development of the Greeks.

Corinth the flower of Dorian genius in building.

Pausanias has left on record an account of the condition of the city when he visited it in the second century of our era. At that time Corinth had for three hundred and fifty years been under the dominion of the Romans, and its splendor was in a large measure traceable to the profuse but vulgar patronage of that great race. Still the architecture and the art were essentially Greek, and may be said at that epoch to have been the flower of the Dorian genius. In the port of Lechæum stood the great temple of Poseidon, with its brazen statue of that god—greatest single monument of Doric architecture. At the harbor of Cenchreæ was the temple of Aphrodite, of almost equal grandeur. The whole agora was surrounded with temples and columns. Here stood the statues of Bacchus and of Diana of the Ephesians. Here was the temple of Fortuna; here was the magnificent Pantheon, with its fountain, and another Poseidon of bronze.

It is needless to enumerate in detail the vast artistic display in statuary and temples and porches which the city at this time presented. It suffices to call attention to the fact that everything under the influence of the lively genius of the Corinthians had become ornate; that even the old majestic columns of the Dorians had blossomed into that elegance and elaboration of the capital which has given to all civilized countries the name *Corinthian* as descriptive of the very efflorescence of art.

Temples of Poseidon and Ceres at Pæstum.

We have mentioned Southern Italy as another seat of Dorian architecture. The ancient city of Pæstum at the mouth of the Silarus, on the Tyrrhenian sea, contains the best preserved ruins which time and war have spared to us of the Dorian temples. The remains of two vast structures, magnificent even in desolation, cover the plain by the seashore. The older and grander of the two is—or was—the temple of Poseidon. Only the sky is now above it; only the stillness of the Italian landscape around it; only some peasants or quiet cattle in the foreground of the tremendous ruin. The ground plan is one hundred and eighty feet in length by eighty feet in width. The old Doric columns are nearly all in their entirety, unshaken from the place where they stood in their ancient splendor. On the top of the colonnade the architrave still holds its place; and in the crevices wild flowers and vines have found a footing and are spreading green and beautiful in the balm of the Italian air.

The other temple is that of Ceres, or Vesta—for it is not known to which of the divinities it was originally dedicated. The structure is one hundred and seventy feet in length by forty-eight feet in width. The outer walls which formerly inclosed these magnificent edifices were a sort of pentagon in shape, having a perimeter of about three miles.

Greek architecture the reflection of Greek life and genius.

may be said of all peoples, with certain limitations and exceptions. There is an inner and an outer life of man, and that the latter should reflect the former is natural, inevitable. In no part of the work of the race has this principle been more strikingly and happily illustrated than in the two styles of Greek architecture

TEMPLE OF POSEIDON, AT PÆSTUM, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

The places of the old gates and archways are still plainly discoverable in the line of the wall, and the traveler can see with his mind's eye the outline of what was once, next to the temple of Corinth, the finest structure built by the Dorian race.

The Greek life wrought itself outward. The forms which it took in structure were transcripts of itself. Perhaps this

known as Doric and Ionic. The impressive grandeur of the one and the airy elegance of the other were but the tangible shadows of the character and genius of the two peoples. We have already dwelt upon these ethnic characteristics. It is sufficient to note that the Ionic architecture brought out in perfect relief and full expression the subjective qualities of that remarkably ideal and

beauty-loving people by whom it was created.

In the earlier ages of Greek art the heavier and coarser varieties of stone were used for architectural purposes. In order to give exterior finish and beauty to the column and architrave, as well as to the ceilings and porches and walls within, the surface of the stone was covered with stucco, thus giving a more elegant finish. It was not until the fifth century B. C. that marble was generally substituted for the coarser stone of the primitive architecture. From that time forth Hellas became a land of marble. Especially in those cities where the highest activities of the race were displayed was the use of marble carried to the greatest extent. The carving of marble became a universal art; and the number of artists who were able to produce elegant work could not be paralleled in the modern world, even in Florence.

Use of stucco; Hellas becomes a land of marble.

The Greek mind sought and attained the highest degree of effectiveness in its work. This was reached through the use of the two great facts, *form* and *color*. Here the judgment of the modern world has departed from the Greek standard in disassociating the one from the other. Modern art uses form for sculpture and color for painting, but never combines the two. It is against the canons of recent criticism to *paint* a statue or a column. This was precisely what the art of Greece insisted on doing. When the sculptor's work was completed, the painter's art began. Whether it was the instinctive judgment of the race that the highest end and aim of art could thus be best attained, or whether the Hellenes had brought the tradition of painting their architecture and sculpture from the Eastern countries, we cannot well determine; but it is certain that the Greek temples were painted before they were regarded as perfect.

Color used to heighten the work of the chisel.

The rule was universal. One might well believe that Parian marble, gleaming white in the Grecian sunshine, glinting from its carefully carved surface, might have satisfied with form alone, and that the taste of the Greek might have hesitated before covering such a surface with pigment; but not so. From the earliest development of temple building and statue carving color was freely laid on as a means of decoration. Nor was there any abatement in the application of this rule as Greek architecture advanced to perfection, in the age of Pericles. As the elegance of structure increased—as the freedom and skill of the chisel became greater and greater in the hands of the most famous sculptors of the human race—the canon of art still required that the whole should be painted in high colors before perfection could be attained.

Greek theory that sculptures should be colored.

To this end the most brilliant pigments were freely employed—blue, red, green, and gold—laid on with a richness and splendor of contrast the like of which has never been witnessed in the artistic work of any other people. The art of harmonizing colors had been mastered to perfection. The most brilliant hues ever laid on by the painter's brush were thus softened by pleasing juxtapositions with other high colors, until the whole effect was that of a resplendent spectrum blazing in the Grecian atmosphere. After the introduction of marble, instead of the ruder materials of antiquity, the facility for artistic painting on the surface was greatly enhanced. Stucco was no longer

Use of brilliant pigments; stucco discarded.

employed, and it can not be doubted that the artist's brush found a field on the very surface where the sculptor's chisel had done its finest work for the display of the richest and most profuse coloring ever devised by the genius of man.

Greece was the art crown of the world; Attica was the crown of Greece; Athens was the crown of Attica; the Acropolis the crown of Athens; the Parthenon the crown of the Acropolis. This is to say that, artistically considered, the very blossom of the human mind was in the Parthenon. Darius had gone down into the shadows of the nether world. Xerxes had followed his father. The pale ghosts of the infinite army had risen in backward flight from Platæa's plain and sea-born Salamis. Athens had risen from her ashes. The Acropolis was no longer a fortress. The easier slopes of the almost inaccessible hill were cut down into beautiful flights of steps. At the summit rises the Propylæa. Mnesicles is the architect. The whole hill is solemnly devoted to the guardian deities of the city. The victorious Athena Promachos stands to the left of the great ascent. She overlooks the divine city which bears her name. On the high level of the native rock rise two temples which may fairly be reckoned the most beautiful and ideal structures ever created by the artisans and artists of the world. The smaller of the two is the Erechtheum, the great national sanctuary of the Ionian race, shrine of the

Great age of Greek art; splendors of the Acropolis.

PARTHENON IN TIME OF PERICLES, RESTORED.—Drawn by F. Thiersch.

common people, temple of Poseidon. In the eldest days Poseidon had stood on this spot. Here he had contended with Athena for the supreme place in the adoration of the primitive Greeks. Here he had set up his trident while the august Athena was planting a laurel. But the trident could not call up the ocean to the top of the hill, and the laurel flourished. Athena was victorious from the first.

THE ACROPOLIS.—Drawn by E. Guillaume, from a photograph.

The Erechtheum was in the Ionic style. The porticoes were supported by elegant columns of that type. On one side of the principal temple was the Hall of the Maidens, in which the superstructure was upheld by a series of splendid Karyatids, or woman figures, bearing baskets on their heads. Around the frieze was a succession of scenes in relief from the Panathenaïc festival, and in like style in the metope were illustrations from the myths and legends of Greece.

Artistic features of the Erechtheum and the Parthenon.

But greater, vaster, more beautiful than the Erechtheum was the Parthenon. The name is from the Greek word *parthena*, meaning "a virgin"—epithet of Athena. The style was Doric, but the columns and entablatures were much lighter and more elegant than the corresponding parts of the massive temples of Southern Italy and Sicily. The ground plan was two hundred and twenty-six feet in length by one hundred feet in

breadth—a parallelogram. Within were two rows of columns dividing the interior into three naves. Other colonnades divided the space transversely, and the imposts of the interior work bore secondary colonnades above. There were two principal spaces, the one in the rear being the treasury of the Athenians where the moneys and many of the memorials and trophies of the state were deposited. It was the interior Acropolis or stronghold of the Ionic race, no longer defended merely by its inaccessibility, no longer a simple fortress on a precipice, but surrounded in the days of glory and triumph with the panoply of all the Greeks.

But it was in the anterior space of the Parthenon, the *Promos*, next the entrance from the Propylæa, that the maximum triumph of the genius of Hellas had been achieved. This is said of the tangible expression in forms of marble and ivory and gold of those sublime concepts of beauty for which the Greeks were unrivaled in their own age, and indeed in all the world. In no other spot on the earth was there ever such an apocalypse of art as in the front space of the Parthenon. Here stood the great chryselephantine statue of Athena by Phidias. In her left hand she held her spear, and in her right a Winged Victory. By her side was the sun-broad shield, on her head the majestic helmet, and on her bosom the panoply. Before her and at the left were smoking altars, and around her in the spaces of the colonnades a collection of statues by the greatest sculptors of the greatest people. In the vast interior were ninety of the masterpieces of Phidias.

The supreme art glories of the Promos.

The subjects of the sculptures of the Parthenon were mythological—Grecian. Here was wrought out the contention of Poseidon with Athena for the possession of Attica. Yonder was the legend of the birth of the goddess from the head of Zeus, and in the metopes were the combats with the Centaurs. The frieze, four hundred feet in length, was filled with a transcript in marble relief of the Panathenaïc festival. Here were mounted the young Athenian horsemen in the great procession—perhaps the

Subjects of the Acropolitan sculptures.

THE APHRODITE OF MELOS.
Drawn by H. Vòlz, from the original in the Louvre.

most ideal and beautiful heads ever done in stone. Here were the great refractory bulls led to the sacrifice, and well-wreathed rams ready to be offered, the whole constituting a scene which in the existing mutilated fragments of the work still shines forth on the wondering gaze of travelers and artists in the museums of foreign lands.

The prime quality in the art work of the Greeks was ideality. Nature and man were idealized. It was in this respect that the Greek genius rose to its easy preëminence over the mind and achievement of other races. The vividness of the inner concept flashed forth into form and figure. The vision grew in brightness as the chisel and brush played through the radiance and shadows of the studio or along the architrave of the temple. All natural objects were idealized. They took from the mind of the artist a beauty and brilliancy more than their own. Especially were all living forms thus lifted into ideal majesty and perfection. The Greek mind was not greatly inspired with the inanimate outlines of the natural world. It does not appear that the artists of the race "communed with nature" in the sense in which that phrase is understood by modern poets. Motion and life, as exhibited in living forms, were necessary to rouse the sympathies and enthusiasm of the Greek.

Ideality the prime quality of Greek art.

We see these qualities exhibited in the heroic poems. They are the epics of life and action. Description of the natural world is employed only incidentally and as a circumstance of the action. The reader of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* must be surprised to note the mere passing and half-trivial references to the aspects of nature. It is the song of man. In all of Greek art the same thing reäppears. It is the art of humanity. The Greek mind grew vivid on the side of all the humanities; but it required *the sense of sight* to bring forth its supreme activities.

Motion and life and humanity the motifs of the Greek epics.

It is surprising to mark the feebleness of the achievement of the Greeks in the art of music. Only a narrow gamut of four poor notes bearing the monotonous cadences of the chant, or the pibroch-like pæan of battle could find expression in the meager scheme of musical notation. But under the inspiration of the sight of life the Hellenic hand was marvelous. It carved and idealized all living forms, but especially the form of man, of woman. Statuary rose above architecture. Sculpture proper, the portrayal in marble or bronze or ivory, of the idealized figures of mortals and immortals provoked the highest genius of the race. Greece became the land of statuary. The work multiplied in variety and extent beyond the limits of description. The cities were full of statues, and sculptors were like merchants for number. Nor was the work merely a trade. On the contrary, it rose everywhere to perfection. Not only were the statues of the gods, the heroes, the Titans, sublime, but even the busts of common Athenian democrats were great in art, and the very Hermæ that marked the corners of the streets were masterpieces.

Absence of musical genius; the Greek statuary.

The sculpture of the Greeks reached its climax about the middle of the fifth century B. C. It was at this period that Phidias, Colotes, and Alcamenes flourished. Much of their work was done under the patronage of the state, and after the fall of Pericles they, in common with the other friends of that

Climax of sculpture in the age of Phidias.

statesman, suffered at the hands of the reäctionary party. But during the period of their ascendency they flourished as no other artists of the world have ever flourished. The extent of their work is incredible. Attica, with her tremendous artistic development, could not contain and trammel up the activities of her form of Greek religion. It had already become one of the most beautiful cities in all Hellas. The temple of the Olympian Zeus here situated was regarded as a marvel in a marvelous age. It was to execute a statue of the god for this magnificent temple that Phidias was drawn from his work in Athens. For four

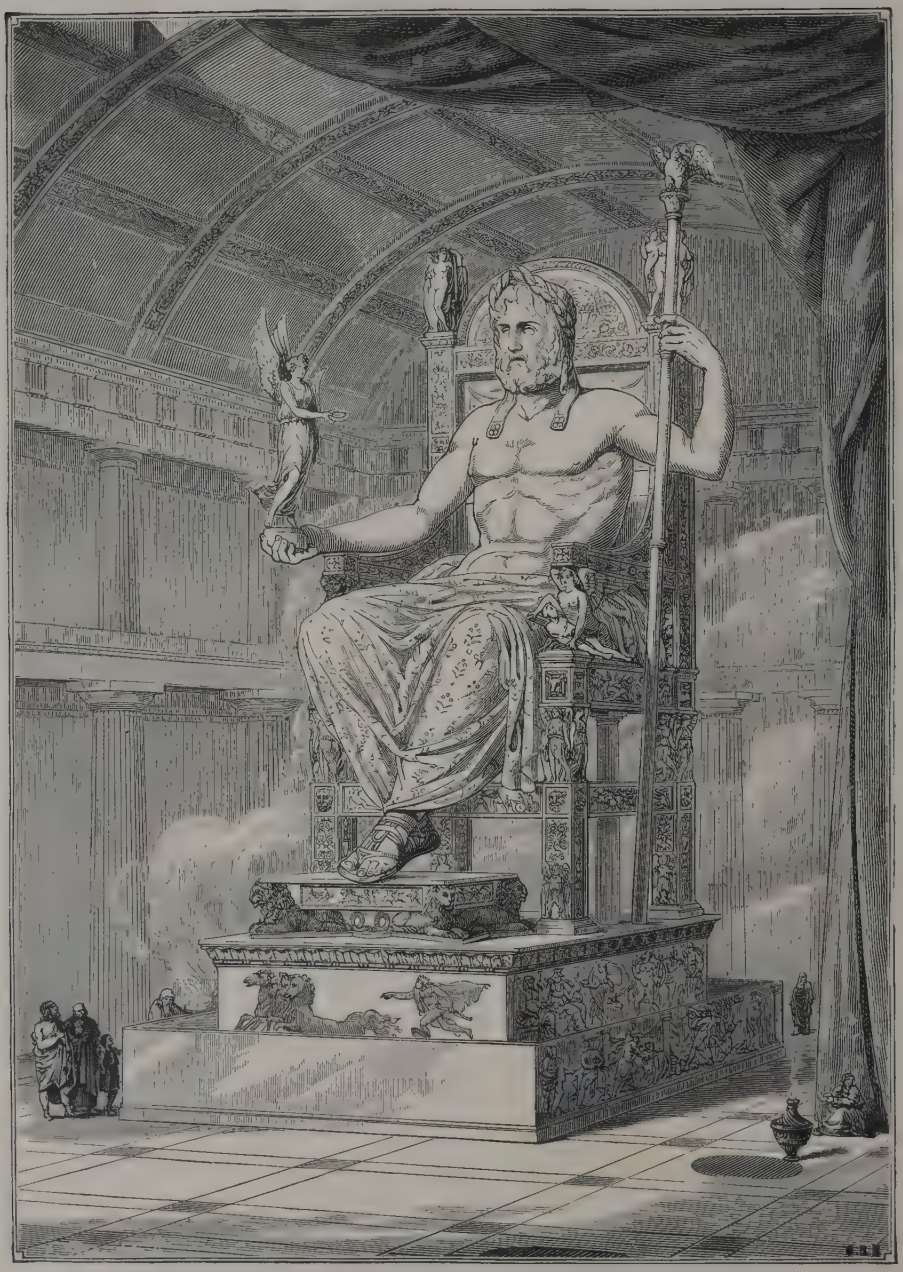
INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

geniuses. Distant cities called for them, and through all Greece the sublime work of their chisels was seen.

The Phidian mission at Olympia.

About 437 B. C., Phidias was called to Olympia, in Western Peloponnesus, to aid in glorifying that remarkable city of art. Olympia was the place of the great national games and the center of one

years he wrought at the task. The art evolution in Greece had now proceeded from the coarser forms of stone, by way of marble, to that form of statuary called chryselephantine; that is, gold-and-ivory. Bronze had already been a long time employed coïncidently with marble. The tremendous statue of Athena Promachos, standing on the Acropolis,



CHRYSELEPHANTINE STATUE OF ZEUS OLYMPIOS, RESTORED.—From *Magazine of Art.*

looking out to sea, was of bronze, from the immortal hands of Phidias. This great work was about fifty-five feet in height. Statuary had become epical, heroic, colossal.

In the execution of the magnificent

statue of Athena for the Promos of the Parthenon, Phidias was ordered by the city to spare no expense that might add to the richness and costliness of the work. He accordingly chose ivory and gold as the principal constituent materials. The body of the statue and most of the parts indicating the actual outline of the goddess were of ivory, while the ornamental parts, such as the helmet and the panoply of the bosom, were of solid gold. Perhaps no effect ever attained by any other means in art was comparable with the splendor which was imparted by the chryselephantine composition.

Statues of Athena Promachos and Zeus Olympios.

On going to Olympia, Phidias chose the same materials for the statue of Zeus

ARES.
From the original, in Villa Ludovisi, Rome.

Olympios. It is likely that he sought from the first in this work to surpass all of his previous efforts. He chose for the god the sitting posture. In one hand he placed a Winged Victory, and in the other the scepter. Whatever may have been the ambitions of the artist, the result rose easily to the climax. It was conceded by antiquity that the Olympian statue was the masterpiece of Phidias, and, indeed, the masterpiece of art. The colossal effigy was sixty feet in height, and was doubtless the sublimest representation of divine things in human form ever conceived by the brain or executed by the hand of men. The statue was reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world,[1] and during the classical ages drew to itself the admiring gaze of travelers and artists from every quarter of the earth.

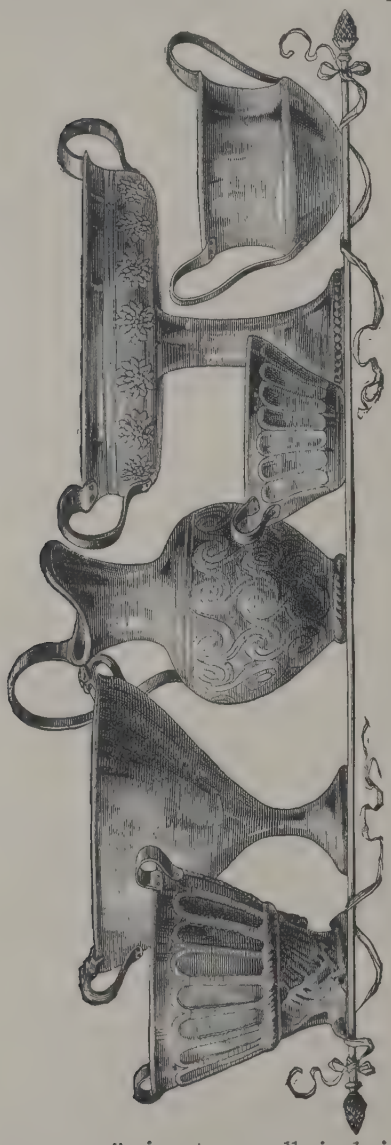
APHRODITE.
From the original, in the Capitol at Rome.

We have already remarked upon the bright apprehension of the Greek mind with respect to beauty of form. The ability of the race to idealize and express

Preëminence of the Greek sculptors over all other artists.

[1] The other six wonders of the ancient world were the Pyramids of Egypt; the Pharos, or lighthouse, of Alexandria; the Colossus of Rhodes; the Walls and Hanging Gardens of Babylon; the Tomb of King Mausolus; and the Temple of Diana of the Ephesians. It will be noted that the other six are all *architectural* in their character. Regarded as a purely artistic concept and expression of the human genius, the Olympian statue of Zeus may be placed at the head of all.

in physical images the outline and features of men and deities was equal to the brilliancy of the concept. It was for these reasons that the Greek sculptors



GOLDEN VESSELS OF THE PRE-CLASSICAL AGE.—Drawn by C. Reiss, for the *Mycenæ* of Schliemann.

became preëminent over all rivals in all lands. Neither behind them in antiquity, nor before them in future ages, did any arise who could fairly compete for the palm in sculpture.

We are here, however, to consider not so much the achievement itself as its reäctionary effect upon the Greek mind and its influence in developing the tastes and dispositions of the people. It can not be doubted that the multifarious work of the Greek artists reäcted in a marvelous manner on the common people and tended to their refinement. Before the end of the Hellenic ascendency in ancient history taste had become a passion with the Greeks, to the extent that the untasteful thing was reckoned the maximum of wickedness. The presence in visible form—on the friezes of all public buildings, in the *cellæ* of the temples, in the streets and market places of the cities—of the tangible expression of the legend, the tradition, the history, and the glory of the Greek race, acted as an inspiration even to the bottom of society, and the whole people became judges of art and subjects of its refining influences.

Reäctionary effects of Greek art upon the people.

It is the relics of these art works of Greeks that now enrich the museums of the civilized nations. This is that classical art beyond which no other has reached, to which no other has attained. Greece in the latter ages of her ascendency became a treasury out of which the works of genius were gathered and exported to other lands. Sometimes it was the work and sometimes it was the artist himself that went by exportation. Mistress Rome allured hundreds of the great Greek sculptors and painters to the west to find shelter under her coarse but mighty wing. Afterward she became a spoiler. Shiploads of Greek art, the finest ever produced by mortal chisel, were borne away. The Greek cities were robbed, the Greek temples spoliated, the Greek shrines emptied of

Diffusion of the Hellenic sculptures and sculptors.

their treasures, in order that the parvenu nabobs of Rome might possess what they could not create.

Fate of the artistic treasures of the Greeks.

The process of duplicating the great works of Hellas was taken up and carried forward for centuries. At length the barbarians burst the barriers of the Alps, and the treasures of ages sunk into the earth. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of marbles most elegant, most beautiful, most sublime were buried in cellars and gardens, and other thousands were knocked from their nitches and broken into fragments by the avenging races of the north. Subsequently the tide of art treasure set toward Constantinople. A large part of what had been spared to Greece by Western Rome was carried to Eastern Rome. It was to Constantinople that Phidias's statue of the Olympian Zeus was taken, in the reign of Theodosius I, and there that immortal work perished by fire in A. D. 475.

Abundance of such works in foreign museums.

In recent times there has been a revival of the quest for the art treatures of the Greeks. Out of the earth of Italy, out of the streets of her cities, out of her forums and gardens and basements, out of Sicily, out of Cyprus and Crete, out of the Ionian coast, out of the archipelago, thousands upon thousands of busts and statues and groups, some in tolerable perfection, others eaten by earth-acids and time, others mutilated by violence, have been exhumed and transported to foreign lands. One must needs walk through the long aisles of a great museum to be struck with wonder at the relics of that marvelous age in which the chisels of the Greeks carved their wonders for the admiration of posterity.

Æsthetic development of the Greeks through the senses.

It was, then, the intellect of the Greeks that became the master force, first in Eastern Europe, and afterwards in the world. It was an intellect of vast reason, of keen perceptions, and of artistic tastes—a creative intellect, that wrought out the greatest poems and the finest statuary and painting which have ever been achieved by man. The activity of this Greek mind was through the senses, especially the sense of sight, which took in with keenest admiration all living forms and suggested their reproduction in images of marble and bronze. The development of the race was æsthetic, creative, philosophical. Within this range the activities of the Greeks were prodigious to a degree that no modern people have been able to imitate or even to understand. If the development had been uniform, symmetrical in all directions—if the social and political evolution had kept pace with the purely intellectual and artistic expansion of the Greek race—the wonder of mankind would doubtless have been intensified with the spectacle of the most complete and enduring civilization which the growth of the human race has thus far presented.

CHAPTER LI.—CIVIL SOCIETY.

WE turn, in the next place, to the consideration of the political forms of the Hellenic people, estimated with respect to the influence of the same on the destinies of this branch of mankind. Here again we are confronted with peculiarities in the Greek character which we should not have expected. The enormous activities of the people would have led to the deduction of a large and substantial political growth. We should have expected that the institutional forms of the Greeks would present developments and perfections correlative with the other achievements of the race; but it was by no means so. The Greek mind blazed up in a conflagration of unexampled brilliancy, but its work in social structure was weak and evanescent. The construction and maintenance of political institutions is by no means the highest, or even one of the highest, forms of human activity. On the contrary, it is one of the lower functional works of the mind—a coarser and less rational process than that which is conversant with letters and art.

Expectation of high institutional forms among the Greeks.

The Greeks were never in any sense politically great. There was much in the structure of their society which may well be looked on with amusement by the publicists and statesmen of modern times. There was never any broad political foundation laid in Greece, never any largely considered institutional form as an expression of national life. On the contrary, everything was local and peculiar. If we consider the history of Greece as a whole, we shall see that for some reason every movement in the direction of what we should call political unity or nationality was checked and paralyzed by countervailing tendencies too strong to be overcome. The resulting segregation, division, and consequent political weakness of the Greeks, even in the times of their greatness, has been the subject of a thousand melancholy reflections on the part of those to whom the development of political grandeur has appeared to be the chief aim of the human race.

Weakness of social and civil evolution of the race.

There is, however, another and totally different view to be taken of this matter. The progress of humanity has not yet been sufficiently forward to allow a final generalization on the subject of government. It can not be denied on the one hand that there have been instances in history in which the genius of the race has seemingly wasted itself for the want of the restraints and conservative influence of stable political institutions; but it is still more easy to cite examples of the opposite condition We have seen many instances of overgrown political structure under which the genius, the individual energies, and the really sublime powers of man have been crushed as under Juggernaut. Instances of the too great institutional growth of human society are far more frequent than instances of too feeble growth. The question is profoundly philosophical. What is government for? Does it exist for itself? Is it a means unto an end or itself an end? Is it, on the whole, desirable that a great political image shall be

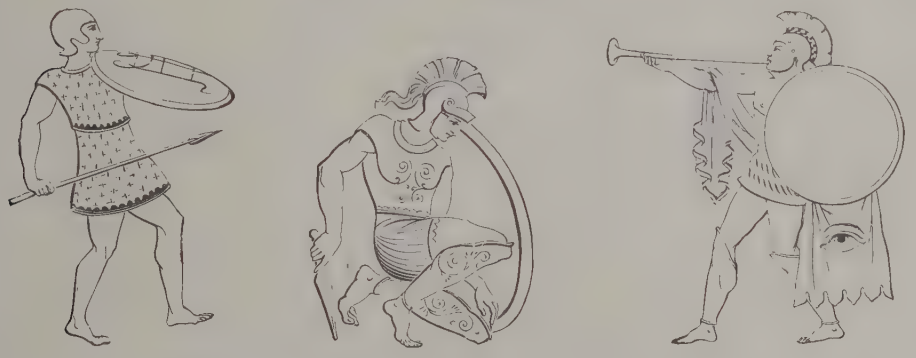
Philosophical relations of man to government considered.

constantly before the minds of a people? or does it not rather stand in the way of the expansion, the growth, and the genius of a given race? How much government, and in what form, is necessary that the best results of the human evolution may be reached? These are among the profoundest questions with which modern societies have to deal; and it may be frankly confessed that, according to the deepest penetration of many of the ablest men of the passing age, the world has, on the whole, been *too much governed* for its own best interests. That is, the political structures of which men in various ages and countries have availed themselves have been too heavy, too rigid, and much too splendid for the best interests of human kind. It may still be determined by the wisdom of the future that only so much political form is valuable to men as is absolutely needed for the expression of their will and the promotion of their purposes.

Among the ancient peoples the Greeks stood at this extreme of society. They neither sought for nor obtained a large political structure. On the contrary, they preferred that all civil provisions and bonds should rest upon them lightly. They were as little disposed to have society clad with a ponderous and gorgeous drapery as they were to clothe themselves with the weight of inconvenient and heavy garments.

All the Greeks desired lightness of political structure.

This nonpolitical disposition among the Greeks was common to all branches of the race. The Dorians as well as the Ionians had an antipathy for elaborate civil government. Their institutions were in a high degree empirical.



MILITARY COSTUMES OF GREEKS AND GREEK COLONISTS.

They were created according to the exigency of circumstances, and were not extended beyond the limits of actual usefulness. There never was among the Greeks any considerable attempt to construct what would be called a logical system of government. It does not appear to have occurred to the Greek lawmakers and statesmen that a system of civil polity

could be created *à priori* in which mankind in general, as much as the Greeks in particular, should be considered.

The science of government did not exist. It is not certain that it would not have appeared ridiculous to Greek statesmen to propose a scheme wider than the particular circumstances before them. In all the revolutions—and their name was legion—which burst out and ran an explosive course in the democratic states of Greece, there was never an effort to look at the question of political institutions from a wider point of view than that of local and temporary expediency. If we could fathom the concepts of the greatest civilians among the Greeks, it is likely that we should find neither desire nor purpose on their part to look at government in any light other than that of immediate adaptation to the wants of a particular community.

Political order by expediency and government by trial.

It is from this point of view that we must consider the formal legislation of the Greeks. Most writers have chosen to regard Lycurgus and Solon as great political logicians, skillful in the craft of creating institutional forms. Nothing could be further from the truth. They were men of expediency, quick to dis-

Philosophy of the Lycurgian laws.

MARKET OF SPARTA—MEETING PLACE OF THE EPHORS.

In the background, the citadel; in foreground, statue of Hermes with infant Bacchus; in middle distance, statue of Spartan people and temple of the Moirai; on the right, the Persian Hall adorned with spoils of the Persian wars.

cern the existing condition of affairs among their respective peoples. They simply expressed the rules of political action which were requisite for the maintenance of the current order. There was nothing in the legislation of either to regenerate society. There was nothing to lay for society a broader foundation—nothing to indicate the existence of enlarged views or statesmanlike proclivities in either the Spartan or the Athenian.

Social and political aristocracy of the Spartans.

Lycurgus found among the Dorians the dominant fact of aristocracy. That fact had already been evolved in the natural progress of the Dorian people. The Heraclidæ, the old mythical leaders of the race out of the north, had become the natural progenitors of a breed of aristocrats calling themselves freemen. These were the real conquerors of Laconia. They founded the Spartan commonwealth. Their pride led to non-intercourse. Their austerity prevented the growth of refinements. The subject classes feared them, hated them. It was under such conditions that Lycurgus, himself one of the aristocracy, a traveler in Crete and a Spartan of the Spartans, laid his hand to the work of legislation; but he created nothing, and reformed little. The whole purpose of his work was to maintain and fortify the existing order. His statutes simply tended to confirm and make permanent a state of affairs which the genius of the Spartan race had already produced.

Relations of the Heraclid kings and the Gerousia.

At the head of Spartan society Lycurgus found a royal family, the alleged descendants of the sons of Hercules. To these he gave the supreme place in the state. Two of them were denominated kings. To them was assigned the command of the Spartans in war and, to a certain extent, the enforcement of civil authority in peace. But while the kings were thus set at the head, they were also included in the principal legislative body called the *Gerousia*, or Senate. This was composed of thirty members, twenty-eight besides the kings. The latter presided over the deliberations of the body. The members were elected by the vote of the Spartan freemen. Any one of the electors might in turn be eligible to membership in the Gerousia; but he must first be sixty years of age. This body was not only the supreme legislative authority of Sparta, but also the supreme court. Its functions were double. The Gerousia first made the law and then interpreted it. The power of the kings was restricted by the authority of the body to which they belonged. Such was the essential constitution of the primitive Spartan commonwealth.

Essential oligarchy of the system; the ephors.

It will be noted that this kind of government was an oligarchy of the purest type. It was the domination of the few. All experience shows how natural and inevitable, indeed, is the movement of such a body toward the severest forms of tyranny. In Sparta a necessary provision against this tendency was found in the creation of a body of more popular officers, called the *ephors*. These were the only break on the iron wheel of the Gerousia. The ephors were elected by the people at large—that is, the Spartans at large—and stood as their representatives, like the better known tribunes of the people in the Roman system of government. The ephors had a check, or veto, upon the actions of the Gerousia; but they could originate nothing, enforce nothing. They stood for that function of government which in modern states is called the veto power.

It is not needed in this connection to enter into any detailed account of the characteristics of the Lycurgian system. Such discussion belongs rather to formal history than to an account of the ethnic development of mankind. In so far as the legislation of Lycurgus may be said to have had any definite object, any rational end to be attained, it looked to the creation of a citizen soldiery. All the energies of the state were bent to the one purpose of making soldiers. This is said particularly of the free Spartans. The middle class, called the *Periœci*, were also of a military development, but the principal thing was to make every free Spartan into a heavy armed soldier—a *hoplite*, in the phraseology of Greek.

Military intent and office of the constitution.

MILITARY COSTUMES OF SPARTANS

AND EGYPTIANS COMPARED.

The means unto this end were partly social and partly political. We have already seen how strenuous were the exertions, by means of the Spartan gymnasium, to bring up the boy to the full development of his physical powers and activities. The end was that he might serve the state as a warrior. The girls were subjected to virtually the same discipline. As a result, there was a tremendous vigor in the Spartan women which some have called masculinity. They were openly taught from childhood that their business in the world was to bear soldiers and rear them. After the juvenile age the Lycurgian statute took the matter in hand, and from that time forth the discipline of the youth was almost wholly military. Further on he was taught tactics. The Spartan system of organizing and directing an army in the field was admirable for an unscientific age. It is likely that the ancient world did not furnish a parallel to the resisting power and aggressive force of the Spartan phalanx in battle. Thucydides has recorded his wonder at the celerity and precision of the Spartan military movements, and especially at the ease with which the general made his commands felt in all parts of the field.

Means adopted to make all Spartans soldiers.

It was a part of the discipline, of the

system, of the theory of this people to be as wary as they were brave; not to press an advantage to the extent of risking it; not to make a reckless pursuit or to indulge in any wild and visionary military movement. The discipline required that the Spartans should stand up in the shock of battle, receive the onset, and repel it at whatever cost; that they should advance courageously against the enemy, however overwhelming his numbers, and should coolly meet all the perils of the struggle without even the consideration—much less the regard—of danger. Such was the perfection of the training that the same stoical manner and total indifference to results which characterized the Spartans in the agora and at the communal tables where they banqueted at home, was carried into battle and maintained in the midst of carnage, even to the utter extinction of the last man of the phalanx.

Ethics of Spartan discipline and battle-making.

Lycurgus has had the reputation of having determined, if he did not create, the social and industrial condition of the Spartans; but here again the credit is misplaced. It has been said that the division of the lands into thirty-nine thousand equal lots, of which the Spartans proper received nine thousand, while the remainder went to the Perioeci and others, was devised by the Lycurgian statutes. For this the authority of Plutarch is cited; but more recent investigations have shown that Lycurgus merely adopted the prevailing system of landownership. It is highly probable that the Heraclidæ on their incoming with the Dorians had made an equal division of the lands, and that this fundamental ownership continued to the times of Lycurgus. Nearly all primitive peoples have had a similar communal arrangement of their real estate, and it is not likely that the matter was carried further in Sparta than in some other countries.

Preëxisting system of landownership adopted by Lycurgus.

In course of time great inequalities in wealth had come to pass, and it will be conceded that the Lycurgian statutes were a strong countercheck upon this tendency. It might be truthfully said that the most marked feature of this legislation, considered as a whole, was its antipathy to all of those processes by which men become great through industrial enterprises and the accumulation of wealth. With respect to these things the laws of Lycurgus may be said to have been devised with as much cunning as severity. Everything was skillfully contrived to put a damper on accumulation, to prevent the growth of the commercial spirit, and to forestall the amassing of fortunes. The theory that all Spartan citizens were equals was extended to mean that they *should continue so*. The evolution of individual power, instead of being encouraged as a healthful tendency, was checked, held back, and hampered by the whole force of society and the state. Doubtless in the times of the Spartan ascendency the natural forces of human life had sufficiently declared themselves to make some rich and others poor; but it was the struggle of nature against the artifice of man, and the inequality was reduced to a minimum.

Constitutional opposition to the amassing of wealth.

In one respect, however, all Spartan citizens were equal: they must all alike submit themselves to the rigor of a certain discipline by which they were to be fitted for their place in the state, and particularly for their duties in the field. This part of the theory was so rigorous as to admit of no variation or departure

No democracy except in military training.

from the common standard. The type of character thus produced was sufficiently uniform, but it was by no means a democratic uniformity. The aristocratic principle always asserted itself; and when one Spartan citizen is said to have been equal to another, it must be understood in the sense of an oligarchic equality without a symptom of popularity in it.

When it is said that the Spartans were a race of soldiers, the expression is sometimes erroneously taken as a figure of speech; but there is here no metaphor at all. Every free Spartan was a soldier. It was his business to be a soldier. The dominant element in Spartan society was simply a warlike force. With the ordinary industrial occupations the Spartan citizens had absolutely nothing to do. They were neither agriculturists, merchants, nor manufacturers. To be any of these things was totally foreign to the genius and the practice of the dominant race. As to the cultivation of the soil, that was attended to by the Periœci and the Helots. Merchandising, marketing, and the like, were the business of the same classes, or of the few mercenary foreigners whose presence was barely tolerated in the city. So completely were the true Spartans absorbed in their one business of war that it is a puzzle to the modern inquirer to understand in what way their energies found vent in times of peace. The social dispositions of the people were abridged and held in check by the anti-literary spirit and incommunicative genius of the race. Only the recurrence of the national games and festivals called forth and exercised the disposition of a people to whom refinements were distasteful and by whom polite occupations were totally discredited.

LIFE OF WAR.—ARISTOMENES FIGHTING HIS WAY OUT OF IRA.

War for freeborn Spartans and trade for the Periœci.

It is not our purpose here to recount the cunning expedients which Lycurgus adopted to prevent foreign intercourse and to smother the commercial spirit at home. The story of his iron money is sufficiently well known. Perhaps if any single feature of his legislation may be called original, that is, if any part of it introduced an actually new feature of social development, it was the institution of the communal table. To this the Greeks gave the name of *Syssitia*. It was a public mess. All Spartan citizens were divided among the various messes. This signified that a certain number should each day sit at the joint tables, which were provided from a common store and according to a uniform bill of fare. It was a part of the Lycurgian system to make the fare as despicable as possible. A sort of coarse black bread and sundry beans and fish constituted the principal meal. Wine and game from the forests were added under certain restrictions.

Institution of the communal table by Lycurgus.

In determining the group of fifteen persons who should sit at the common table all preferences of friendship and all family ties were put aside. The group was made up by lot, and this circumstance intensified the unsocial character and laconic intercourse of the feast. Only few words were spoken, and they must be to the point. A mere hint was better than an explication. Jocularity and enthusiasm were as foreign to such an assemblage as warmth under the snow or a smile on the face of the sphinx.

Intercourse at the Spartan board; the Laconic manner.

For the rest, Lycurgus may be regarded simply as the formulator into statute of the existing usages and tendencies of the Dorian race. It must be remembered, however, that the Spartans were not in all respects typical of the Dorians, and that their right to represent that people in their institutional forms has been strongly controverted. But the Spartans were the most conspicuous example of Dorian development, and Lycurgus was their lawgiver to the extent of giving his name to those early usages by which the course of the people was politically, and to a certain extent socially, determined.

To what extent the Spartans represented the Dorian race.

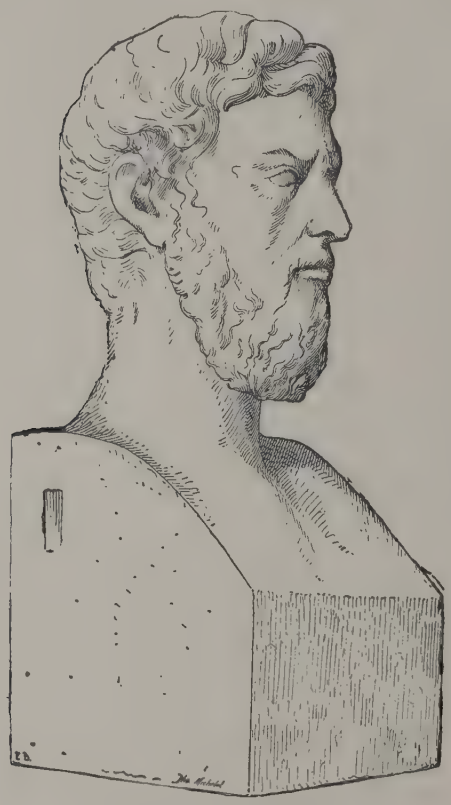
The system which he established was sufficiently fixed and durable. It was presently used as a criterion by which the practices of the Spartan people were regulated in war and in peace. The Lycurgian laws held their own. The revolutionary and reformatory tendency was but feebly felt at Sparta. While the democratic states of Greece were full of insurrection, tumult, progress, action, and reäction, Sparta held on her course. Her vicissitudes were many, but her changes few. The old impress was retained, the old type upheld, not only during the Spartan ascendency in Greece, but to the very end of Grecian nationality. The last kings who reigned at Sparta had in them the spirit of the race. The same austerity and haughtiness which had been exemplified in Eunomus and Polydectes was the dominant passion with Agis and Lysander; and the Spartan women at the last were as heroic, as nonchalant, and as silent in grief and joy as they had been in the earliest ages.

Permanency of the Lycurgian constitution.

The striking differences between the peoples of Northern and Southern Greece were the result of development. We may easily discern in primitive Attica much of the same aristocratic and oligarchic quality that we have found in the Spartans. The first institutions of

Divergence of Spartans and Athenians in development.

the two countries were not so dissimilar as they afterwards became. It is evident that the Ionian chiefs and warriors, under whose leadership the peoples of several of the northern states were established, were in those countries the natural progenitors of an aristocracy. The difference was not in the beginning but in the growth. In Central Greece



BUST OF AN EPHETES.

certain democratic checks appeared at an early day which prevented the aristocratic evolution and turned the spirits and practices of the people into new channels.

All students of history have taken some note of the institutions of Draco. The bad reputation of this lawgiver with posterity is now shown to have been in large measure unmerited. The proverbial statement that his laws were written in blood instead of ink has been found to have no other basis than the prejudice of his democratic countrymen and the foolish repetition of posterity. Not a line of the Draconian laws has been preserved in their original form. We are indebted for our knowledge of this code to Plutarch's references to the subject in his sketch of Solon. It may be accepted that the legislation of the older publicist was severe. Plutarch relates that the early usages of the Ionians were immoderate in the punishment of crime. The theft of a cabbage or an apple was visited with death as much as the spoliation of a temple or the murder of a citizen. The theory was that the smallest offense against the law could only be properly vindicated by the death of the offender, and since death was the worst of penalties, the greater crimes could receive no more. Doubtless in this case, also, Draco found the usage and admitted it into his code. He simply formulated the savagery of the age and gave it expression. The Draconian rules, considered by the polite Athenian democrats of later times and by the Roman lawyers of the empire, appeared barbarous and brutal; and Draco gained at the hands of the commentators his bad reputation.

Nature of the Draconian laws; theory of punishment.

According to the tradition of the times the institutions of the *Ephetai*, a body of fifty-one elders, sitting in four different courts, was the work of Draco. Among these courts the various kinds of crime were divided out for trial in the primitive practice of Attica. The fact that these courts from the earliest epoch appear to have discriminated between murder and the less criminal grades of

Institution and office of the Athenian Ephetai.

homicide down to accidental killing is of itself sufficient to destroy the belief in the absolutely bloody character of the Draconian laws.

Draco belonged to the afterpart of the seventh century B. C., perhaps two hundred years after the age of Lycurgus. The efforts of both these lawgivers, one Dorian and the other Ionian, are to be classed with those primitive movements which we see in almost every tribe of men emerging from the barbarous condition. The giving of the Ten Commandments by Moses and the setting up of the Twelve Tables in ancient Rome were events exactly analogous to the institution of the Draconian code in Athens. Myth and tradition have been busy with Draco's name and fame. It was said anciently that he was called Draco; that is, *Dragon*, because of the barbarous severity of his legislation. Another legend records the manner of his death. In old age, after completing his laws, he was greatly admired by his countrymen. At the last, as he was sitting in the theater at Ægina, in an outburst of enthusiasm, the audience, especially the women, threw upon him their chitons, caps, and cloaks until the sage was smothered to death.

Philosophy and parallels of the legislation of Draco.

In course of time the Ionian political development demanded a reform in the severe order which had been established by the Draconian code. At the beginning of the sixth century B. C. we are able to discover in Ionian Greece a hard struggle on the part of the old aristocratic families to maintain themselves against a growing democracy. In Athens the revolutionary tendency had led to the expulsion of several noble households. Among these the Alcmæonids were conspicuous.

Progress of the Ionians demands constitutional revision.

It was in connection with this popular attempt to overthrow the aristocratic families that Solon came to the front. He was himself of noble extraction, a native of Salamis. Through his efforts the island was restored from the domination of the Magarians to its old Athenian allegiance. In 594 B. C., Solon was elected Archon, and while holding this office he was called upon by his colleagues and the common voice to undertake a reform of the existing Attic constitution. The circumstances which provoked this movement related to the industrial condition of the country. The ancient noble families had become wealthy at the expense of the producing classes. Though there was nominally a system of free landownership, the benefits thereof had been destroyed by the extortions of the large landlords. A system of oppressive renting had taken the place of fee simple ownership, and the common people groaned under the exactions of the times. Attica was virtually bankrupt as to her producing classes. It was to alleviate this condition of affairs and to institute a more liberal order that the Solonian reforms were undertaken.

Nature and application of the Solonian legislation.

The reforms in question were all in the direction of the popular interest as against the claims of the money-lenders and landlords. Two methods of relieving the country from the burden of debt were adopted. The first was the cancellation of all land mortgages by which the farms, orchards, and gardens of the people were set free in the hands of the true owners. The other method of relief was the scaling of debts. This was accomplished by debasing the currency. A new scale was adopted by which the existing money was depreci-

Methods of relieving the people of the hardships of debt.

ated by about twenty-seven per cent of its metallic value. The actual legislation on the subject was the enactment that the coin should, after the date of the law, have a debt-paying power above its nominal value. According to the exact standards of modern times these measures were sufficiently revolutionary and communistic; but the event showed that they were not more radical than salutary. The land was set free, and the small cultivators of the soil had a new lease of life.

RECEIVING THE GUEST.
Drawn by C. Reiss, from a vase.

It will thus be seen that the Solonian statutes reached down into industrial and social conditions beyond the limits which would be fixed for modern legislation. In the other direction the new laws went on to the extent of a political revolution. The whole political system was remodeled with a view to giving every Attic citizen a share in the government. The reform did not by any means extend, at the beginning, to the establishment of a complete democracy; but in determining the new order Solon provided that *property* instead of *tribal descent* should determine the power of each citizen in the state.

Democracy substitutes property for tribal descent.

Under the old system the Eupatrids, or noble families, had monopolized all the rights and prerogatives of citizenship. They held the offices of the state and made and interpreted the laws at their will. The Solonian system abolished the hereditary scheme of rights, and substituted therefor a new classification of the people. A graduated scale of property was established. All citizens were divided into four classes, according to their tax schedule. The actual administration of the government was confined to citizens of the first, or wealthiest, class; but as a compensating circumstance this class had to bear the greatest burden of taxation. The second division of citizens were the knights, or horsemen. The distinction was made on the ability of each person of this class to keep a war horse at his own expense for the service of the state.

Taxation adjusted according to wealth and class.

Citizens of the second class paid three fifths of the amount assessed against the first class in taxation. The third class also had respect to the military service. The men of this division were the heavy infantry of the Attic army.

Duties and burdens of citizens of the under classes.

Their taxes were lighter in proportion as their responsibilities were fewer and more easily borne. Citizens of the fourth class were exempt from direct taxation, and as to military service were employed only as light troops or sailors for the fleet. The poorest and humblest of the Attic people belonged to this order. As to political rights, they were members of the popular assembly; and as this body had the prerogative of choosing the magistrates of the state, the power of the common people was felt in all things.

Thus the theory of the Solonian legislation had respect to property, taxation, and responsibility in the state. The three were correlated. They were all in direct ratio. The greater the property, the higher the taxation and the heavier the responsibility. The less the responsibility, the lower the taxation and the smaller the amount of property. This feature of the work of the Athenian lawgiver has been much commented on by publicists of other ages and countries. It has been regarded as one of the admir-

Correlation of property, taxation, and responsibility.

THE GREEK ASSEMBLY.—Oration of Demosthenes.

able features of the Athenian laws that the responsibilities, burdens, and wealth of the citizens were held as correlatives, and that the one was not permitted to be in excess of the legal ratio for the other two.

If the laws of Solon can be said to have originated anything, it was the fourth estate of the people. He found the great court of Areopagus, and retained it. He found the archonship, and retained it. He found the usage of voting as a means of determining the public will; but the popular assembly may be said to have been his work. In this body citizens of all classes convened; but since the poor far outnumbered the rich, since the fourth estate was the bottom section of the pyramid, the votes in the assembly would represent the real democracy. To this was added the right of public speech. Each citizen must vote by a show of the hand, but the voter might also speak in defense of his ballot. Here we may place the beginning of that free right which the Athenians in after times so greatly cultivated, and of which they were so justly proud. Here was the true foundation of that future democracy which in its development, in the palmy days of Greece, furnished so strong a contrast to the oligarchy of Sparta.

The assembly and free right of democracy due to Solon's laws.

We may here note for the first time, perhaps, in the history of the human race the organization of a political society from below upwards—from the people to their rulers. The Athenian popular Assembly became the origin of power and authority. Out of the whole body were annually chosen by lot a division of six thousand citizens, called the *Heliæa*, who were the jurors and judges of the Athenian people. The Heliæa was in its turn divided into sections of manageable size; and these sat by turns deciding all matters submitted, both as to law and fact. The only qualification was that the juror should be thirty years of age and an Attic citizen.

Ascendency of the Assembly and the Heliæa.

In practice this court was much busied with political offenses, in which the Athenian commonwealth so greatly abounded. In course of time the Heliæa became the seat and scene of gross abuses, but it ever subserved the purpose of jealous guardianship over the rights and privileges of the Athenians. So powerful was the popular assembly and this secondary body of six thousand, derived directly therefrom, that the whole political development of Attica—and if of Attica, of the Ionian race—became democratic to an extent which it would be perhaps impossible to parallel in the annals of mankind.

Democratic domination of the Ionian race.

In almost every regard the Athenian commonwealth and the civil polity which prevailed therein were strongly contrasted with the Dorian development in Sparta We have already remarked upon the exclusiveness of the Lycurgian laws—how they discouraged enterprise, dampened industry, prevented commercial intercourse, and hindered the accumulation of wealth. The Solonian statutes led in exactly the opposite direction. They gave encouragement to commerce. As we have shown above, they strongly stimulated the producing forces of the state. They went so far even as to impair existing contracts, scale debts, and reduce the purchasing power of money in order to stimulate the energies of the producing classes.

Strong contrasts of Athenian and Spartan governments.

The constitution prepared by Solon also led to the evolution of citizenship. It gave great encouragement to the intercourse of the streets and shops as

well as to the higher intercourse of the agora and the pnyx. Instead of warding off the citizens of other states and countries, the laws of Solon almost invited immigration. As a matter of fact, great numbers of foreign settlers found residence in Athens and became citizens of the commonwealth on the easy condition of paying the tax and assuming the common responsibilities of the class with which they were incorporated. These foreigners presently constituted something of a division of themselves. They were known as *Metœci*, that is, Metics, or Settlers. The discrimination against them was very slight. Many of them by following the mercantile pursuit became rich, and the conditions of life in Athens were so kindly and tolerant that the foreigner was unhampered in his intercourse and but slightly prejudiced in his relations.

Popular tendencies of the Athenian constitution.

Similar praise may be given to the Solonian laws for the humane spirit which characterized the code as a whole. Punishments were light and much more rational than those of the Spartans. Though criminals were still visited with severe penalties, there was little of that barbarity which marked the administration of law in the south. In general, the restraints put upon the free action of the Athenian people were as few and as easy as could be expected even in an enlightened age. In so far as a government may be regarded as an instrument of human happiness, as a means unto an end, the end being the enlargement of the individual, the extension and protection of his rights and privileges, it might well be said that the constitution of Solon was as wise and efficacious as the fundamental law of any other state, ancient or modern.

Humane elements in the Solonian code.

As we have said and repeated, the early Hellenic lawgivers wrought for the most part with material already furnished to their hands. There is a sense in which all law is in its last analysis common law— the result of custom falling first into usage and then into statutory form. No doubt in the more advanced stages of nationality men do create out of right reason and from a philosophical basis such statutes as *ought* to be adapted to a somewhat idealized form of human society. To such law

Common law and civil code join in Athenian constitution.

MANNERS AND COSTUMES.—GREEKS CONVERSING.
From Hope's *Costumes of the Ancients.*

the name civil is generally given to discriminate it from the law which has its origin in experience and usage.

The common opinion of mankind has ascribed altogether too much force to the Lycurgian and Solonian laws in Greece. It is a part of that general mistake which assigns to individual men the power of creating new forms of society. Such power has very seldom been the possession of any man or of any men. Especially in the matter of jurisprudence have the so-called lawgivers been simply the formulators of existing rules of conduct, with such slight enlargement as would be suggested in the process of formal legislation. Lycurgus and Draco and Solon were men of this class. They did something by the force of their genus to divert the currents of Greek life into new channels of civil and political action; but the channels were already prepared, and if no such men had ever appeared—that is, if those particular men had not appeared—the course of events would doubtless have been the same.

Course of events not greatly changed by legislators.

It is true, however, that the formal work of creating a constitution for an active and vigorous people marks an epoch in their development, and that the reäctionary effect of such work is very marked. When the rules of political society have been once definitely determined, they constitute the criteria by which all individual action is thenceforth judged; and if the people themselves have participated in the expression of the new rules of civil conduct, the counter effect upon themselves will be considerable, and in some cases great. It proved to be so with the Greeks. Particularly among the Ionians—most strikingly among the Athenians—where the democratic principle was boldly advanced and adhered to, were the reäctions of the governmental polity upon the people strong and enduring. Athens presently displayed in her public life a degree of popular energy surpassing that of any other ancient state. The character of the institutions strongly stimulated the already energetic political temper of the people, and the display of civil ability became great, marvelous.

Strong reäction of governmental system upon the people.

The Athenian democracy in the grand days of the commonwealth, after the Persians had been beaten back to their own place, after the eloquence of Pericles and the chisel of Phidias had coöperated to make the city splendid, was chargeable with all the faults of action peculiar to its kind. Aye, more, it was guilty of all the crimes against the rights of the individual citizen—which rights were in their last analysis the very essence of the state—wherewith the enemies of democracy in ancient and modern times have charged that illustrious citizenship; but it can not be denied that in its best days the Athenian assembly was the grandest field for the display of the greatest talents which, the public life of mankind has ever exhibited.

Vices and virtues of the Athenian democracy.

We must not suppose, however, that the democratic evolution at Athens was at once accomplished under the influences and tendencies of the Solonian statutes. The old rival families of the Alcmæonidæ and the Pisistratidæ still contended with the democracy for the mastery of the state and with each other for leadership; but the whole political tide set toward the free people of Attica. In course of time Clisthenes appeared and, backed by the Delphic oracle, carried forward the democratic impulse of the people into still more

Solon's legislation supplemented by that of Clisthenes.

perfect organs of expression. The four *Demoi* into which the Athenians had been divided according to the laws of Solon were extended to ten. These corresponded with the *Tribes* which constituted the fundamental political division of the Roman people. To each demos was assigned by the law of Clisthenes fifty senators, increasing the whole number of the senate from four hundred to five hundred. Each demos bottom motive in the creation of such an institution was to inspire a wholesome dread on the part of ambitious demagogues. The abuse of ostracism lay in the fact that it could be capriciously and vindictively turned—as it many times was turned—against the best citizens of the state. The reader must bear in mind, however, that to be ostracised, as ostracism went at Athens, was little more than to be voted down at any other

THE PNYX IN ITS PRESENT APPEARANCE.—Drawn by H. Nestel.

was put under the headship of a demarch, who stood as the representative of his particular tribe.

At the same time, and as a means of curbing the ambition of demagogues, the *ostracism* was instituted. This institution has been judged and misjudged by modern writers. It was undoubtedly the vehicle of many and great abuses; but it was also in many respects a salutary part of the public system. The democratic election. The hardship of the case was the circumstance of banishment or exile, which was added to the adverse decision of the people.

Uses and abuses of the Athenian ostracism.

The reader who has attentively followed this evolution of Greek society from its beginnings up to its full aspect in the times of the Athenian ascendency will be prepared to understand how it was that the domestic life of the people gave place to the public life. No other

Public interest absorbs the private life of the Greeks.

people, whether ancient or modern, lived so much in public as did the Greeks. Everything seemed to conspire to draw the energies of the race into the whirl and excitement of citizenship. All the institutions which had been evolved by sages and statesmen at different epochs reäcted upon the national spirit and intensified the natural instincts of the race. The people came to take delight in the affairs of state. The crowd surged along the streets and into the agora and pnyx. There was a hum of perpetual excitement. The condition of foreign and domestic affairs did not always furnish material for actual statesmanship. In the piping times of peace the Athenians must find vent for their pent-up politics in the discussion of factitious and trivial issues. In such times the bickerings of sophists were substituted for the debates of sages, and the howl of the demagogue was heard in place of the statesman's peroration.

Litigious disposition of the people; passion for debate.

Not only did the Greeks busy themselves to an unusual degree in the discussion and enactment of their laws, but they also took great interest in all legal proceedings. They were the most litigious race of men. A great lawsuit was their delight. Little did it matter whose cause was just, but it greatly mattered whose argument was fallacious. As we have already remarked, the Greeks were not greatly influenced by the fundamental right or wrong of anything; but the processes of determining the same were to them a perpetual delight. The exercise of the reasoning faculties was to the average Athenian as exhilarating and healthful to his mind as his physical gymnastic was to the body; but the end to be attained by argument—the final rectification of a cause according to the immutabilities of justice—were to the Greek little more than his quoits, his turning-pole, and his trapeze. He quarreled and contended for the sake of contention. The racket of debate, the complication and uproar of contending voices sufficed for the excitement wherewith his daily life was heated for action. To sue and to be sued in the courts furnished a basis for that perpetual talk and strife without which the life of the Athenian Greek would have soon pined away into weakness and stupor.

Last bad estate of the Attic democracy.

In process of time the disposition of the Athenians became more light, inattentive to serious business, more prone to avoid the responsibilities of citizenship. It would appear that the last estate of absolute democracy is not so inspiring as the first estate. It was one of the peculiarities of Athenian life in the latter stages of the commonwealth that the duties of citizenship were avoided rather than sought for. The better people became willing that any blatant demagogue should take the lead, and that the judges should be made up from lists of citizens who had nothing else to do. The situation with respect to the courts became similar to that which we have seen in American cities. The wise and thrifty citizen, absorbed in affairs and personal responsibilities, avoided the court and its business; and the jury bench was packed with imbecile professionals who sought the place for the fee. One of the striking spectacles in Athens was the stretching of ropes across the streets and around the crowds of people in the market, by which they might be dragged into the pnyx to participate in an election or to submit themselves to the lot in the choice of jurors and judges. By such means were the important offices of the state filled with ignorant and unworthy occupants.

CHAPTER LII.—OLYMPUS AND THE RELIGIOUS LIFE.

THE thoughtful reader will have observed that the present discussion of the growth and character of the Greek people has proceeded from the merely physical basis to the higher and more ideal aspects of life. This method has been adopted for the reason that it seems to conform to the actual facts in the case of the Greeks. As we have said, the race began its career from a material point of departure. We have seen that even the education of the Greeks partook of the common movement. One may easily discern in the poetry and art of this remarkably intellectual race the outlines of physical conditions and sympathies. A pure and natural humanity was in it all. Even the powerful influences of Egypt and the East could hardly introduce into Greek life any other than human elements. All the gods of the Greeks are human. They are never creatures with double heads and multiple arms. The winged and mythological monsters of the East were hardly accepted by the Greeks. One may discern in the latter days of Greek art a total abandonment of the monstrous and unnatural element. The Centaur, the Minotaur, and all manner of dragons disappear, while a pure humanity rises and sits even on the summit of Olympus. What should be thought if Phidias had given wings to his Pallas Athena, or four arms to his statue of Zeus Olympios?

Humanity rises to Olympus and sits on the summit.

Even the religion of the Greeks—which we come now briefly to consider—was a species of natural philosophy. It may well be doubted whether the term "religious" is not misapplied when it is used in definition of any of the practices or beliefs of the Greeks. No race of men has existed without a certain ethical constitution; but this does not extend to what the languages of the West call religion. The latter implies the recognition of a god or gods, makers and givers of life and of all benefits, to whom the race of man is bound (*religio*, a binding) by certain ties of morality, duty, and affection. Natural ethics has to do with the duties and obligations of man to man.

Greek religion a species of natural philosophy.

THE CENTAUR.

The Greeks, in common with the other divisions of the Aryan race, had a fund of theology. It is claimed by a certain group of modern scholars that the primitive religious views of the Aryans were based upon the recognition

Absence of spirituality in the Greek theology.

APOLLO.

of a single heaven-father, with whom were associated other divine and spiritual powers in the administration of nature and of man. There are intimations, derivable mostly from philology, that this theory of the old-time religion of our race is founded in fact. But if so, the theory descended in the horizon of the Greeks to the level of earth. One might seek in vain in the literature of the Greeks for the presence of a belief that their gods were spiritual beings at all. Of course they were living beings, and were immortal; but the Greek thought of his god as a material entity, a physical organic being even as himself —only greater, mightier, more sublime. Beyond this the mind of the Greek refused to go. It took no cognizance of spiritual entities outside of living forms.

One must needs be surprised to note how completely the intellectual and spiritual life, the moral qualities and dispositions, the moods and passions of the Greek were by him projected into his gods. In nowise was the god better than the man—only stronger and immortal. We might look in vain among the whole Olympian hierarchy for a single moral attribute above the level

The Greek transferred himself to his deities.

ARTEMIS.

of the average human concepts of the people who lived below. Even as far back as the days of Homer, this humanization had been complete—if indeed it had ever been anything better. Whenever the epic bard speaks of the gods,

RELIGION OF THE GREEKS.—On the Temple Steps.—From the painting by Poynter.

he does so in a tone of gentle mockery —mere description, such as a skeptic of modern times might use in describing the beings of mythology. In no single element of his theology was there a divine order, a heavenly government in anywise above the level of the average morality of the Greek.

All was on the level of human nature and frailty. Take the case of Zeus. That almighty potentate had *perfumed locks*. He was guilty of all manner of unlawful loves; but to the Greek the guilt was no more heinous than average mortal eccentricity. The comic poet might mock at the inconstancy and infidelities of Jove, but never thought of denouncing them as sins. Hera was as jealous of her mighty lord as any Athenian beauty might be of an inconstant husband. Aphrodite was as false as she was fair. Hermes was a common liar. Hephæstus was *lame*. Poseidon was consumed with enmity and revenge. Dionysus was a drunkard, and Heracles a glutton from infancy. All the passions and vices of the earth and the cloud-land were mixed together; and as to morality, men were even as the gods. Heaven was as full of quarrels, of bickerings, and perfidy as the earth was full of uproar, falsehood, and treason.

The gods of Olympus are even as men and women.

Yet the gods were mighty. They were, moreover, deeply interested in the affairs of earth. They concerned themselves constantly with the doings of men, and drew with vindictive precision the lines of good and evil. Indeed, it was impossible that they should do otherwise. They themselves were held, in common with men, under the inexorable tyranny of Fate. This fate was the highest concept of the Greek race. Fate was the absolute. Under the scepter of fate the gods performed their part in the universal scheme. It was their part to reward and punish—reward for the thing called virtue, and punish for the thing called vice.

The deities are great but fated like mortals.

This distinction the nature of man must always recognize. However shifting and uncertain may be the lines which bound the theological landscape, however vacillating the definitions which are found in the mortal vocabulary for certain specific acts, the deep-down bottom difference between right and wrong stands fast and will not be moved. This difference the Greeks recognized. So also did the gods above them. Men must conform, therefore, to the moral law such as it was. Did they not, the wrath of the immortals was kindled against them. Did they not, the Eumenides, those sharp avengers of evil doing, were ever at the gate; aye, they were ever at the threshold, even at the elbow of mortal life, ready to inflict the penalty for all misdeeds. True, they were very patient. They were not in haste. The immortals had no need to be in haste. The visitation for crime might well wait until a convenient season. *Then* the punishment would come. Then the swift and avenging bolt would fall upon the offender.

Concept of right and wrong stands fast forever.

It thus happened that the Greeks found a place for a scheme of morality. There was a belief among the people in the laws of right and wrong and in the fidelity of the gods to reward virtue and heroism, to punish vice and weakness. Therefore, there was room even for prayer and for sacrifice. He who prayed might influence the gods to hasten their purposes, to come on with their benefits, to restrain their anger. To this end

Theory of prayer; in early days the gods draw near.

there was an altar, a place of offering, a temple. Such things were beneficial to the individual, to the household, to the state. Thereby the gods were made auspicious. There the chaotic affairs of life were brought to order. Good was brought down from on high, and the evil below was put away.

In the early days the deities were more familiar with men than in after times. At several places in Greece the gods had haunts and abiding places. At the foot of Parnassus Apollo loved to dwell. There was his Delphic oracle. There, from the rift in the rock, came the inspiring power which made the Pythia drunken with the divine afflatus. A close union existed between the natural and the supernatural fact. The great Zeus loved the gnarled oaks of Dodona, and joined his voice with the solemn voice of the wind moaning among the branches. The gods were not far off and high, but even at the door. While it was not a worship of nature, it was the worship of beings who were in sympathy with nature and sought out natural abodes as their favorite dwelling places. As a result, the religious affections of the Greeks were strongly localized. There were centers of the divine presence in certain parts of the country, and to these the religious beliefs and sympathies of the people were drawn by as strong bonds as the Greeks were capable of bearing.

PARNASSUS.—After a sketch of F. E. Blackstone.

Another peculiarity of the Hellenic religious system was still more marked and persistent. This was the absence of a priesthood. No other people of an equal degree of development have been so free from the presence and interference of a priestly order. Among the Greeks every man was his own priest. Doubtless this was due in a certain de-

Absence of priesthood; officials of the temple.

gree to the strong individualism and democracy of the race. It is not meant that there were no Greek priests. About the temples there must needs be a retinue of officials, and these must be conversant with religious rites and doctrines. In some few instances the priestly office was transmitted in families, but it was only such heredity as might be seen in the transmission of the artistic or commercial instincts through several generations.

VICTIMS FOR SACRIFICE.—Drawn by L. Otto, from the original reliefs of the Panathenaïc procession, in British Museum.

Sometimes the Greek found it convenient to offer his sacrifices and make his prayers by proxy, and in such cases he employed a priest; but there was never any abdication of his own rights in the premises. Every Greek offered his prayers and sacrifices when and as he would. There was, of course, a national canon, a ritual, a doctrine, which the worshiper must follow; and any departure from the common standard was likely to be visited with severity. Secular society stood guard over the orthodoxy of the people; and any departure from the authorized standards was likely to entail great mischief on the offender. Such things were sure to be buzzed about in the market and agora. A question of the kind, especially if the heretic were a distinguished personage, gave the average Greek demagogue his best hold. In such cases superstition and prejudice were freely invoked, and the consequences were usually disastrous. One of the few melancholy aspects of Greek civilization was to see the greatest minds cowering under the dominion of that common thrall and scourge wherewith all the nations of antiquity and most peoples of modern times as well have been lashed and whipped into silence.

System of orthodoxy maintained by popular belief.

But no other people of antiquity were so free in the observances of their religion as were the Greeks. Religiously speaking, every man's house was his castle. There, before the altar of Vesta, the newborn child was named. It was a religious ceremony. So also was

THE DELPHIC PYTHIA ENRAPT.

marriage, and so were the rites of the funeral. It must not be thought that the Greeks were an irreligious race. No people have had a greater multiplicity of gods, and few societies have been more permeated with the details of worship than was that of Attica. Still, the life of nature rose dominant over the life of ceremonial, and the Greek continued as he had been from the first, the product of physical forces rather than the molded offspring of superstitious beliefs.

Freedom in religious ceremony; nature above tradition.

It is not the place to enter into the details of the Greek ceremonial. Men prayed. They offered sacrifices of fruit and wine and milk and oil and honey and cakes. Sometimes the worshiper stood before the altar fire and threw in handfuls of parched barley. Animals, too, were sacrificed and offered to the hungry deities. The deep sense of beauty here again found expression. The most perfect animal must be selected for the altar. Old Nestor, of the heoric age, was not satisfied with the bullock he brought until the horns were elegantly gilded. Wreaths of leaves and flowers were put about the heads and necks of the victims. Even their slaughter was made as little repulsive as possible. The slain animal was flayed, and the thighs offered on the altar. The remainder of the offering was eaten by the worshipers and the priests under the common ancient notion of sharing the feast with the immortals.

Prayers and sacrifices; beauty of ceremonial.

Among most of the ancient races professional prophets had a place. Perhaps no class of officials were more powerful in Semitic communities than were the old foretellers who revealed the future. With the Aryan races the prophetical office was less esteemed, but by no means neglected. Among the Greeks the business of foreknowing and foretelling things to come took a remarkable development. The wisdom of the future was given forth from oracles; and priests who received from the divinities the mysterious message were never regarded as other than mere transmitters of a knowledge which was as much above themselves as above the inquirers who stood without the temple.

The prophetical office and the oracles.

There was among the Greeks a belief in the verity of these revelations. The strangest feature in connection with the oracular method of gaining wisdom was that woman was always employed as the immediate agent of intercourse with the gods. As far back as the heroic age, the Prophetess Cassandra gained an immortal fame at Troy. There, at the Thymbrian shrine of Apollo, she communicated with the god and learned from him the mysteries of the future.

Why women became the medium of inspiration.

The like office of woman in Greece was illustrated in the Pythia of the Delphic oracle. The acute understanding may perceive in all this a bottom and outline of real reason. The highly wrought nervous organization of woman, her susceptibility to impressions, and the easy excitation of her whole being even to the pitch of frenzy, are facts as universal as the history of the race. The discerning Greeks, therefore, sought by means of this most delicate human instrument to catch, as in the strings of an Æolian harp, the soft, low melodies and mysterious whispers of the invisible world. At the same time they refused to woman the right and ability to interpret the utterances of her own lips, the sighings of her own distracted spirit. The male priests listened with attentive and rational ear to the half-articulate murmurs of the frantic Pythia, and

themselves gave fitting form—as well as fallacious expression—to the dubious revelations of her lips.

Satirical and mocking spirit of the Greeks.

One of the peculiarities of Greek life was the prevalence of satire in all its parts. The Greek mood was one of jocularity, and the disposition found expression in the whole gamut of hilarity from the small whiff of fun to the bitterest sarcasm of which the human brain and tongue are capable. Not satisfied with secular affairs, the satirical spirit made its way into the precincts of theology. Sad was the havoc among even the sacred things of religion. The Greek would have his laugh, even at the expense of the gods. It was difficult for him to be serious even at the altar and in the presence of the sacrifice. There was nothing in the three worlds upon which the comic poets would not lay their hands in mockery. They mocked at Jove. They mocked at all the gods. They mocked at religious ceremonies. They mocked at the priests. Everything which according to the phraseology of the serious would be called sacred was held up alive on the barbed spearheads of irony and sarcasm. The other Greeks all laughed at the spectacle. It does not appear that this universal satire, the sacrilege of all holy things, extended to bitterness and hatred, but that it rather satisfied itself with the effervescence of half-innocent laughter. After the mockery was done the ceremonial proceeded. It was not mimicry, not the

THE GREEK MYSTERIES.—Road from Eleusis to Athens—Temple of Aphrodite to the Left.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

holding up to ridicule of the sacred traditions of the race, but skepticism and departure from the established standards of religious belief and practice that brought upon the offender the chastisement of popular vengeance.

BACCHANALS.—From the Borghese vase in the Louvre.

The Greek mind did not much busy itself with the abstruse and difficult matters of religion. What mystery there was related rather to the inscrutable processes of the natural world than to the profounder entities of the spiritual universe. With respect to the interpretation of nature —the explication of the physical mysteries of birth and growth and death —the Greek mind was keenly alive, and many forms were devised whereby the better to express the occult phenomena of the material world. Among these were the pageants and spectacles to which the Greeks gave the name of mysteries. No other people have been more keenly sensitive to the force and expressiveness of spectacular representations than were the witty and excitable Greeks.

Indifference of Greek mind to theoretical religion.

Two of the mysteries which they instituted are worthy of special note. The feast of Dionysus was celebrated in Attica with great eclat. The ceremony was a revel. Dionysus was the god of the vine and the wine cup. He had come from the far East. Doubtless his was another name for that Soma whom the Indic-Aryans worshiped. The myth represented him as a joyful god, bearing the features of a woman for softness, reckless in demeanor, glancing with languishing looks at his worshipers. He was the giver of good cheer, the bringer of inspiration. His power extended over the wild creatures of the hills and jungle. Tigers, lions, and panthers grew tame under his magical influence. They followed like faithful dogsattending his steps or drew his chariot on the way. Thus came he into Attica. The myth

The Hellenic mysteries; Dionysus and his rout.

gave form to the ceremony. Men dressed themselves in the garb of animals. Pans, Satyrs, and Sileni, clad each after his kind, joined in the procession. The crowds danced as they came. The Mænads and Bacchantes garlanded themselves with vine leaves and ivy. They wrapped their bodies with the skins of fawns, and sang wild songs as they danced about the car of the conquering god.

Eleusis and the Panathenaïc festival.

About twelve miles eastward from Athens was the sacred city of Eleusis. The mysteries celebrated at this place have been recounted in all lands, yet they have not been well apprehended in their sense and form. At bottom the ceremony was a pageant, to which all of the Greeks were invited. There was a great march, led by musicians and dancers, from Athens to Eleusis; but the procession must not arrive until after nightfall. At the latter city Pericles had caused to be erected a temple suitable for the celebration of the mysteries. There was a great hall, surrounded with a colonnade, large enough to contain the initiates, who only were permitted to witness the secret ceremonies.

These had respect to the legend of the loss and finding of Persephone. She was the daughter of Demeter, the Earth, and was lost from her mother. The latter mourned and sought for her child, who was at last discovered. She had been taken down to Hades, and had been married to that dark god of the underworld. So there was a contest between the loving mother and the gloomy husband—then a compromise, in accordance with which Persephone could remain one half of the year at her old home with Demeter, and the other half in the dolor of her husband's abode deep down.

Signification of the myth of Persephone.

It was the story of life. Persephone was Life, born out of the Earth, warm and beautiful in springtime, dying and disappearing in autumn, lost in winter, and recovered again with the returning spring. The mysteries illustrated and exemplified the loss and refinding of Persephone. The ceremonies extended beyond the mere natural aspect of the appearance and recession of life in the visible outer world to the profounder

DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE, WITH A YOUTH OF ATHENS.

mysteries of procreation, of birth, of growth, and decay. These occult wonders of nature were only revealed with care and in the deep shadows of night to the few who had risen from initiation to the deeper secrets of the cult. Perhaps a veil would better be drawn over the whole, lest some of the revolting mysteries of the East might be rediscovered in the ceremony of the Greeks.

Here again we see the complete projection of the natural life of the Greek race into the religious beliefs and practices of the people. The gods were even as men. Their habits were the same. They gave way to passion, drunkenness, orgy, just as did their human worshipers. It should ever remain a marvel that any moral force could be imposed by such a system on a people given up by nature to the hilarity and recklessness of freedom. It should be borne in mind, however, that the religious feasts, with their accompanying abandonment and spells, returned only at intervals. It was a time in which the natural man might be for the nonce turned loose from the restraints under which his everyday life was placed. It is in evidence that this license was hailed and accepted by all classes of Greeks as a time of deliverance from the tyranny of custom and of return to that wild freedom of nature which was always preferred by the instincts of the race. Men, women, children, the old, the young, even bondmen and servants, looked with delight to the approaching festival, when all alike should resume the liberties and recover the reckless joys of the natural man. It is perhaps true that if at any time the Greeks actually cherished feelings of love and affection for their deities, it was when the day arrived for them to regain — by the temporary concession of the immortals the license of the old tribal life, when the unbridled desires of each were his only criterion of action.

The Greeks and their gods are at one.

GREEK SLAVE GIRLS AT THE FOUNTAIN.
Drawn by E. Klimsch.

We should not expect to find the vices and sins incident to mortal life much curbed by the influences of such a system as that prevalent among the Greeks. In the first place, the ceremonial of the national religion was in a large degree perfunctory. The Greek did not much believe in his own system. He had no faith. He thought it best, in view of

Slight restraint of religion; a Greek prays.

the dubious conditions of human life, to stand on the safe side and to *admit* the verity of the gods and the justice of their reign; but he did not much *believe* in either. If we could enter the penetralia of the Greek mind in the times which we are here contemplating and look outward as the Greek himself looked, recognizing with him such duties and obligations as he was able to perceive, and going with him through the formulæ of his religious system, we should perhaps find him worshiping under the influences of the following sentiments: O ye Deities, who live on great Olympus! ye are said to be. Our fathers have believed in you, and therefore we may well believe. Ye are gods, and we are men. Ye are greater than we, and we have cause to fear. Let us be at one with you. Here are our prayers. Here also are our gifts, our offerings, our sacrifices. We make them that ye may be satisfied. We know you to be wise and crafty. Certain it is that ye always triumph in your contests with mortals. It is in vain for man to try to beat the gods. We pray you, therefore, to look upon us as friends. Give us your protection. See that our cause prevails. Keep evil from us. Let all evil fall upon our enemies. We Greeks are your friends and worshipers. Ye are our gods, and have been for a long time. Accept, therefore, our offering. Give us plenty. Make us strong. Keep our houses from burning. Make the olive orchards grow, and save our ships on the deep sea.—Such we may well conceive to have been the thoughts of the Greeks in worship.

We may easily perceive that a people influenced by a religious system such as that of the Greeks would, in their evolution, show many evidences of moral weakness. The fact answers to the inference; for the Greeks, without being a gross and vulgarly licentious race, were in many respects profoundly immoral in their practices. The thoughtful student may perceive in them an element of heartlessness and of cruelty that causes pain even in the retrospect. The Greeks were slaveholders. Slavery abounded, even in the streets of Athens. The baleful shadow was in the agora and the pnyx and the Bouleterion. Between the long walls leading from the Piræus to the city droves of slaves might be seen all day long, toiling at their tasks, building, delving, bearing merchandise on their shoulders, attending their lordly masters as they went up and down to sell and get gain. Around almost every Greek house was a retinue of slaves. They were bought and sold without compunction. Their condition was like that of horses that might be well kept and fed for the sake of their service.

Moral weakness of the Greek race; slavery.

The slave was the chattel of his master. The slave had no rights and few privileges. He was under close surveillance, and was subject to every abuse and hardship. His very life was his master's. Nor does the latter ever seem to have been morally affected by the pitiable condition of the former. In a thousand other ways the absence of the tender humanities was painfully noticeable in Greek society. There has never been any other human arena in which the natural forces were turned loose with so little restriction, and the cold law of the survival of the fittest left to work out its own moral results with so little hindrance, as in the commonwealth of Attica. It was a purely natural life of man, and the inevitable result of the existing order was to evolve a few leading

Notable absence of humane feelings among the Greeks.

elements of character to the highest degree of perfection at the expense of morality and all the tender affections and hopeful loves of the heart.

Résumé of the development of the Greek race.

We have thus attempted to sketch in outline the general character of the Greek race. We have seen that race emerging from the tribal condition when the forces of life were for a season all engaged in compassing from nature a supply of food. We have seen the reäction of the environment and the extreme vigor of growth exhibited by the people rising into the conscious state. We have noted the heroic epoch, with its accompaniments of battle and song. We have looked into the relation of the sexes as the same was determined among the primitive Greeks, and have watched the evolution of the household with the subjection of woman. We have considered that vast and beautiful instrument, the Greek language, and have noted something of its effects upon the people who employed it in intercourse. We have considered the technology and arts of the Greeks, most wonderful even from their incipiency and sublime in their climax. We have endeavored to depict the political systems employed by the several branches of the Greek family. Last of all, we have noted the religious aspects of the people, considering both the subjective concepts and the objective expression of the national faith.

Descent of the Greek character and genius.

The Greek character, as a whole, resulted from a combination of all these facts and forces. It was unique not only among the nations of the ancient world but in all history. The intellectual preeminence of the man of Hellas has been one of the leading facts which historians and philosophers have had to consider. Whatever may have been the antecedent causes of this wonderful intellectual development, the fact remains. The Greek mind is conspicuous and bright above the gloom and chaos of the ancient world. It has reached out with its magical fingers over all subsequent ages and countries, and is likely to remain a constant force in human society even to the end of days. The wit, the insight, the reason, the imagination, the vivid perception of all natural and rational phenomena, the ability to combine existing concepts, and to deduce an infinity of knowledge, were all displayed by the Greek in the beauty and grandeur of power unequaled by the mental activity of any other people. It is not too much to say that the Greeks have dictated the laws of right reason and a large part of the subject-matter of thought to every great race of men, and that their fervid poetry, profound philosophy, and glorious art have furnished the prime examples of excellence, each in its kind, for all subsequent thinkers and doers of the human race. The Greeks still live in the intellect of mankind.

CHAPTER LIII.—THE MODERN GREEKS.

EVEN an incidental knowledge of ancient history will have shown the reader how difficult it is to trace the processes by which the races of antiquity were gradually transformed into the races of modern times. From the fifth to the fifteenth century of our era was a period sufficiently gloomy in the general destinies of mankind. In most of its aspects it appeared retrogressive; in most of its events it gave little ground for an optimistic view of human affairs and of their tendencies.

During this period the ethnic and historical features of the ancient world were erased, and a new physiognomy was determined for mankind. It might be said that all Europe was transformed into another mood and tense. The old things disappeared, the old forms of society vanished. The ancient customs —regarded for centuries as the sacred methods of social and political intercourse—gave place to other usages out of the shaggy loins of barbarism. Of all parts of the European continent, the East held out longest. The capital chosen by Constantine, and established by his successors, remained the nucleus of civilization; and, as the outposts fell away, the forces which represented the ancient order were drawn in until the civilized world had for its boundaries the walls of Constantinople.

Ancient Europe transformed in the Middle Ages.

When the Roman world was divided by Theodosius, Greece and the Greek race fell in the Eastern division and passed to Arcadius as a part of his inheritance. Meanwhile the Hellenic race had been through several periods of transformation. Greece had been first a Roman province of the republic from 145 B. C. until the Cæsarian epoch. After that the same rule had continued under the empire down to the days of Constantine, at the beginning of the fourth century. It was from this time that the division between an East and a West, between a Rome and a Constantinople, was recognized. From the reign of Constantine to that of Leo III, a period of four hundred years, Greece remained a province of the East.

Historical vicissitudes of Greece and the Greek race.

In the meantime the only serious ethnic shock which the Hellenic race had suffered was from the Gothic invasions, at the middle of the third century of our era. The walls of Athens were repaired, and the Isthmus refortified by the Athenians with a vigor which would have done credit to the old Attic race; but the barbarians came in with a flood, and Athens was taken by storm. It was, however, a short-lived triumph. Reïnforcements were hurried from Italy, and in 269 A. D. the Goths were utterly overthrown in the battle of Naissus.

Effects of Gothic invasion; Christianity prevails.

It is to this period that we must refer the incoming of Christianity. It is difficult to say precisely by what means the people were evangelized. The spread of the new religion seems to have been gradual and not accompanied with any phenomenal manifestations. It permeated at first the lower orders of society, and gradually worked its way up to the wealthy and philosophical classes. All this preceded the accession of Constan-

VIEW IN THE IONIAN ISLANDS.—Santa Maura.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

tine the Great. After that event the course of affairs in the Grecian peninsula ran with comparative smoothness until 361, when the country was disturbed by the attempt of Julian to restore paganism. Seventeen years afterwards Christianity was formally proclaimed as the religion of the empire by Theodosius. The Theodosian code was accepted at the close of this century—the fourth—by the Greeks, and may be regarded as the subsequent civil constitution of the Greek people.

Monogamy enforced by the Christian teachers.

The Hellenic race appears to have been peculiarly affected by the Christian religion, and it can not be doubted that no small infusion of new life and energy resulted from the supplanting of paganism. The social system was in large measure renovated. The Roman Christians brought over and enforced monogamy as the law of the state; and the Bosphorus was henceforth for several centuries the western limit of the polygamous practices of Asia.

Greece affected by barbarian invasions.

It was during the period now under consideration, extending from 323 to 716 A. D., that the great barbarian invasions occurred, under the impact of which the Western empire of the Romans went down into night. In the reign of Arcadius, the first emperor of the East, Alaric, at the head of the Goths, set out for the conquest of Europe. But before beginning his wars in the West he ravaged the whole of Greece. In the middle of the following century Attila, with his Huns, desolated the country south of the Danube. He forced the Emperor Theodosius II to pay an annual tribute as the price of exemption. It is believed that in 475, before Theodoric the Great began his great march at the head of the Visigoths, he seriously contemplated the conquest of Greece. The peninsular character of the country and its small extent saved it somewhat from the general deluge of barbarism which swept across the Danube and the Rhine, rolling into Western Europe. At times Bulgarian and Slavonic tribes pressed upon Northern Greece, to the great distress of the people. At one epoch the Servians and the Croatians occupied Dal-

EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.

matia and Illyricum. These people, however, had the agricultural instinct, quickly settled into permanency, and assented to dependency on the Eastern empire.

There were, however, in this long period of disturbance and tumult many short intervals of peace and comparative prosperity among the Hellenic populations. In the heart of the Dark Ages

the Eastern emperors continued to draw from Greece to their courts the little genius which the world still possessed. flooded Central Europe. In course of time a new enemy appeared on the horizon. Islam became a specter on the side

ATTILA ON THE FUNERAL PYRE AFTER HIS OVERTHROW BY AETIUS.

The ancient ideal and intellectual supremacy of the Greek race did not wholly give place to the barbarism which had of Egypt and Asia Minor. But the religion of the desert was afraid of the water. The sea held the followers of the

Prophet at bay, and they beat up against the eastern limits of the Ægean until they found a strait narrow enough to afford an easy crossing into Europe. The student of history will not fail to note that Mohammedanism has attained its only two footholds in Europe by stepping over the Bosphorus and the straits of Gibraltar. The unaided eye easily reaches across either of these channels to the opposite shore. The Saracens of the Dark Ages would never have attempted the invasion of Europe if Asia Minor and Africa had not virtually touched the continent in the two places referred to.

Intervals of repose; Islam kept at bay by the sea.

In course of time the Turcomans on the Bosphorus prevailed. They crossed over to Europe. They encircled Constantinople. They beat about the walls until the terrified Constantine XIII gave up in despair, and the crescent was lifted above the dome of St. Sophia. Greece and the Greek race gave way under the impact, and Mohammedanism continued its spread to the borders of Russia on the north and Hungary on the west. It was the last of many foreign dominations which were to precede the emergence of the modern Greeks. Brunet de Presle, in his work on mediæval and modern Greece, has, on the title page, virtually summarized the vicissitudes through which the Hel-

Extinction of Eastern empire and rise of the crescent.

PINDUS MOUNTAINS.—View of Trikhali.—Drawn by A. Kohl.

lenic race passed from before the Christian era down to modern times. The work is entitled *Greece—Roman, Byzantine, Turk, and Regenerate.*

ALBANIAN PEASANTS OF GLOSSE—TYPES.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, after a sketch of H. Belle.

Analysis of the present Greek populations.

With the opening of the drama of modern history we discover in Greece three distinct races representative of her ancient people. These are the modern Greeks, the Albanians, and the Wallachians. Of the latter people, who are descended from a Latin stock, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Their habitation is on the mountainous borders of Northwestern Greece, next to the modern kingdom of Roumania, from which, indeed, they have spread into the broken country of the Pindus. Until comparatively recent times they were a numerous and powerful group of half-civilized tribes, who as late as 1851 were estimated at fifty thousand. They speak not only their own tongue, the Valch, or Roumania, but also modern Greek. More recently they have for the most part become assimilated with the Greek race, and at present only a remnant of the Wallachian stock remains within the borders of what was ancient Greece. Our attention, therefore, for the present will be directed to the two greater peoples, the modern Greeks and the Albanians.

The Greeks speak a language derived from the ancient Attic. They claim a descent from the old Hellenic race, and the evidence of their speech, their features, their manners, and customs, all tend to the verification of the claim. It can not be denied, however, that in parts of the country the inhabitants appear to be the descendants of the Slavonians—who, under the influence of the Byzantine empire, were transformed into a Hellenic type—rather than ethnic representatives of the true Greeks of antiquity. Taking a general survey of the character and distribution of the three peoples of modern Greece, we find them manifestly the descendants, in general terms, of the three races by which the country was populated in antiquity. The Greeks are the offspring of an Attic and Doric ancestry. The Albanians are the representatives of the old Illyrian stock, and the Wallachians of the Thracians.

Modern Greeks the descendants of the three ancient races.

It may be thought fanciful thus to identify the three modern peoples with the three ancient races who held approximately the same territories, but the facts give warrant to the hypothesis. The extreme persistency of mankind in clinging to the soil, in growing fast, so to speak, in certain localities, and holding on through generations and centuries, must have been noticed by all who have given even casual attention to ethnographic and historical subjects. Nothing human can surpass the tenacity of a given people in clinging to its favorite territory. No shock or convulsion of the natural world, no catastrophe of war and conquest, no dreadful visitation of pestilence and famine can loosen the hold of a people upon the locality which it has chosen under the influence of race instincts. True it is that in course of time the passion may come for migration, and the race will, under its influence, be as pertinacious in its disposition to move as it has hitherto been obstinate in holding to a given locality.

Persistency of peoples in clinging to localities.

In observing the progress and dispersion of peoples into foreign parts we sometimes fail to consider the human residuum which is left behind. The adventurous part goes forth under some hope of betterment or love of vicissitude. But the unadventurous remains in the original seat, and the void is soon filled with new generations who have, by the force of heredity, more conservative instincts than those who have gone into foreign regions. If we take the case of a single family and observe its history, we shall find in the same an epitome of all that may be said of a tribe or of a people. It is a family, let us say, of a father and mother, six sons and four daughters. Two of the sons go abroad by adventure. A barbarian foray in the settlement results in the killing of the father and one son. One other son and two of the daughters are carried into captivity. But the remaining two sons and two daughters hold fast. In the very next generation the two sons head two families bearing the ancestral name, planting themselves within a mile of the paternal home, and the two daughters become by marriage the mothers in two other households not five miles away. In the course of three generations the lineal descendants of the original father number seventy, one half of whom bear the ancestral name, and all of whom are more ardently devoted to the locality than if disaster and death had never visited it.

The disposition of races to hold localities illustrated.

So also of the tribe, and in a larger sense of the people. History is full of

MANNERS OF THE MODERN GREEKS.—Festival Dance of Saint Anna.—Drawn by F. Lix, after a sketch of H. Belle.

illustrations of a given race which has clung persistently from generation to generation to some unauspicious region, exposed to every hazard and hardship that imagination could picture or nature and man invent. It is from this point of view that we are able to understand how a residual element of the ancient Greek race in Attica and the neighboring states always continued in the favorite locality, always increasing and filling up the spaces vacated by war and disaster, always maintaining with less foreign admixture than we might suppose the original stock and character of the race.

Persistency of the race remnant in holding its place.

Thus also in Illyria we may see the ancient frontiersmen and backwoodsmen of the Hellenic race, shaggy rustics of Epirus and Ætolia, persisting in their residence, leaving ever a residue of the original race in the original locality, surviving every wreck and invasion, until the ancient stock reäppears at last, in modern times, in the Albanian race. The same thing has been going on in nearly all parts of the earth, preserving in some measure in every locality at least a certain percentage of its primitive population.

It may be said that the modern Grecks, as distinguished from the Albanians and Wallachians, have their center in the Peloponnesus. Laconia holds two of the most Grecian of all modern tribes. These are the Mainotes and the Tshakones, who speak a peculiar dialect of Greek and have little intercourse with their neighbors. The Mainotes have been celebrated for their personal beauty by all travelers who have visited Greece, even in the present century. The modern Greek girl of Laconia might well be mistaken for the Dorian maiden of the heroic ages. During the long and disgraceful domination by the Turks, these Mainote descendants of the ancient race have virtually maintained their independence. For generations they have made their houses into keeps, from which they have defended themselves against the aggressions of their enemies. But the Greek race—the modern Greeks—extends into several of the central and northern states, and the capital, politically as well as socially, is Athens.

Centers of modern Greek development.

The principal inquiry with which the ethnographer and historian are concerned as it relates to the Greeks of to-day is to what extent they have preserved the temper and characteristics of their great ancestry. On this point authorities are far from agreement. Contrary views have been strenuously maintained as though partisan prejudice were at the bottom of the difference of opinion. In the first place, it may be said that the modern Greeks have preserved to a great degree the quickness of perception and the alertness of activity of their ancestors. They appear to be fully as inquisitive, as eager to find out new things, as adroit as were the Greeks of the classical ages. They also have the same disposition to debate and to wrangle, even over trifles. In general, the eagerness of the people to learn, to extend and vary their information, is a predominant characteristic which, since the country was liberated—to a certain extent—from the tyranny of the Turks, has wrought wonderful results in the improvement of the Greek race.

To what extent modern Greeks preserve ancient traits.

Another characteristic which has been preserved is that cunning and subtlety, that finesse and stratagem for which the old Greeks were proverbial in all time. No doubt this disposition has

Intellectual qualities of old Greeks repeated in the moderns.

been intensified by the oppression and cruelties to which the people have been subjected by their foreign masters. It has been noted, too, that the modern

MODERN GREEK TYPE—WOMAN OF MANTOUDI.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, after a sketch of H. Belle.

Greeks have, even in times of discouragement and disaster, that same reviving cheerfulness, that quick reäction of spirits for which their ancestors were noted, and which has made the modern Greek character an analogue of the French.

In person and physique the Greeks have preserved to a considerable extent the qualities of their ancestry. They are tall and well formed—not heavy like the Germans and other peoples of Western Europe, but sinewy, active. The face is oval, the nose long and arched, the eyes bright, and the expression animated. It is said that an obese person is rarely or never seen in Greece. In bodily movement, in erectness, in the elastic step, which is preserved even to the age of seventy, the Greek of to-day is the fitting representative of his Hellenic ancestry. In parts of Morea and in the islands of the Ægean these bodily characteristics are exhibited in the highest perfection, and he who wanders about at will through the streets of a town or along the highways in the country place will meet among the people many examples of a physical beauty and perfection so highly developed that, as one has said, they might have been used for models by Phidias.

Physical characteristics of the modern Greeks.

In another respect the modern race is a perfect antitype of the original. The Old Greeks knew nothing of the morose, melancholy spirit, and their descendants have the same freedom from the downcast mood and forbidding disposition. Either a certain instinct in the race, a certain innate optimism of character, preserves it from gloominess and grief, or else the climate and physical environment of Greece are such as to make moroseness and gloom impossible in the people inhabiting this peninsula and these islands. It was noted in ancient times that no Greek committed suicide, none became insane; and the same facts are present in the Greece of to-day. In-

Jocularity and optimism reäppear in the descendent race.

sanity is an unknown circumstance; and the reasons for living so far outweigh the reasons for dying that no one takes his own life.

Other cheering particulars may be cited in the character of the modern Greeks. They are the most temperate people of all Europe. In fact, inebriety is unknown in the country. Wine is produced in large quantities not only for export but for home consumption; but no Greek drinks to drunkenness. Excess in food is equally unknown. The few exceptions emphasize the law of sobriety. Even in the few instances where the drunken habit is discovered it is almost invariably found among foreigners.

Temperance and chastity of the people.

In still another respect modern Greek life is to be commended in the highest degree. Chastity is wellnigh universal. There is no other Christian country in which the sexual relation is guarded by so high a sentiment as in Greece. The institution of marriage appears to be afflicted with but few of the evils which attend it in most of the Western countries. In the states of Europe generally the percentage of illegitimate birth ranges from three to twenty-two. In Greece the highest rate is one and four tenths per cent. This peculiarly cheering fact in Greek society appears, moreover, to be the result of a certain native instinct and preference, a certain disposition to hold sacred the relation between the

GREEK HOME NEAR MANTOUDI.—Drawn by H. Clerget, after a sketch of H. Belle.

sexes, rather than any enforced discipline of law, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

The two prevailing sentiments with the modern Greeks are patriotism and the love of freedom. Both of these feelings amount to passions, and both have manifestly been inherited from the ancient ancestry of the race. In patriotic attachment to their country the Greeks are unrivaled among modern peoples—unless it should be in France. The love for the particular locality where the Greek peasant has his home, his readiness to expose his life in its defense, his zeal in maintaining the interests of his native place, are among the most conspicuous traits of the national character. The love of liberty takes the same democratic form which it had in ancient times. The Greeks seek to be free by being equal. No other people feel so deep an antagonism to artificial distinctions of society as do the Greeks. They will not allow the growth of any class distinctions. They resent with bitterness and violence any assumption of superiority, whether such assumption proceed from wealth, from aristocracy of birth, or any other circumstance. They are exceedingly jealous of even the temporary preëminence of those in office, and are willing that the offices,

AN ARCADIAN DEPUTY—TYPE.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

Prevailing patriotism and democracy of the modern Greeks.

aye, the crown itself, shall be held by foreigners rather than admit the superiority of any one Greek over his fellows. It is, so far as its instincts are concerned, altogether the most democratic society in Europe or the world.

Hunger of the race for the discipline of schools.

The intellectual hunger of the Greeks has found expression in institutional forms and usages. The disposition to educate is universal. The higher institutions of learning are patronized by the state and enthusiastically supported by the people. There is nothing fictitious about the popular eagerness to attain intellectual development. Modern Greek boys will undergo every discomfort and hardship in order to attend school. No public excitement can distract the attention of the students of the university from their attendance upon recitations and lectures. During the revolution of 1863, when the public mind was in a violent turmoil, when insurrection showed itself on every hard, the young men in attendance on the University of Athens came daily to their classes with the arms of the National Guard in their hands. The hunger for education is felt even by the lowest classes. Servants are seen with books in their hands. Greek stable boys and scullions, in the intervals of their dirty work, study their letters and learn to read and cipher. It is too early as yet to estimate the results which may be presently expected to flow from these dispositions in the people, but the laws of nature and history must be reversed, or at least fatally impeded in their normal action, if a great intellectual career does not open before this people.

During the present century the modern Greeks have given the strongest proof of a national spirit and of their willingness to achieve independence at whatever cost of life and treasure. It is not purposed to recount here the heroic struggle which continued from 1821 to 1829, resulting in the unseating of the Ottoman Turk from his shameful domination in Greece. The story is sufficiently inspiring. The Greek literature of the period has embalmed it, and the philhellenic spirit among all nations has attested the far-reaching sympathy which the struggle has inspired. It is a history which can hardly be eclipsed by incidental accusations and criticisms brought against the Greeks by those poorly qualified to appreciate their virtues or to pass judgment on their vices.

Proof of national spirit in the struggle for freedom.

It can not be truthfully denied that a certain subtlety of character peculiar to the ancient Greeks has been transmitted to modern times, and that the old spirit of stratagem and even dishonesty may be discovered in the modern representatives of the Hellenic race, but along with these faults we must recognize and admire the greatness and valor of the people.

Survival of ancient subtlety; lack of artistic genius.

We may here pause to point out briefly one or two strange contrarieties presented in recent ethnic history. Though the modern Greeks have preserved to a considerable degree the intellectual acumen of their ancestors, they have failed to perpetuate or repeat its artistic faculties and achievements. The purely intellectual perceptions appear to be as keen in the Greek race of the present time as they were in the ancient stock; but the ideal and imaginative faculties have disappeared in the coldness and gloom of the Middle Ages.

We shall hereafter see in the Roman race exactly the opposite tendency. While the Romans were themselves an unartistic people, unable at the first to

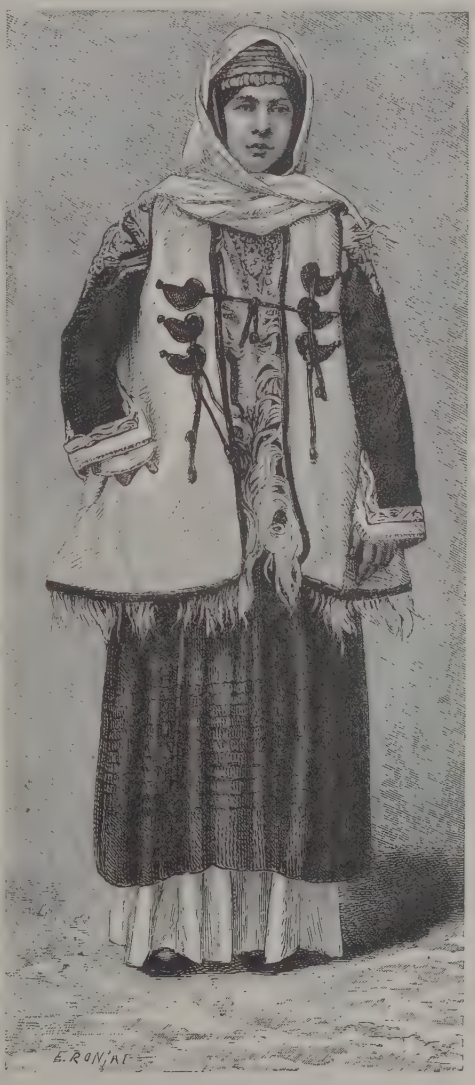
WOMEN OF MEGARA—TYPES.—Drawn by A. Rixen, from a photograph and sketch of H. Belle.

appreciate and always unable to produce in any high degree, except by imitation, the artistic wonders which grew from the Greek mind as the blossom from the stem, the modern Romans—the Italians—have become the most art-producing people of all Europe. In music, in poetry, in painting, and in sculpture the mediæval Italians led the way; and to the present time their claim to the first rank in some of these particulars can hardly be controverted. Thus while in Italy an unartistic ancestry has produced an artistic race, in the Grecian peninsula the most artistic people of the ancient world have left as their descendants a people from whose intellects and imaginations the ideal and creative faculties seem to have disappeared.

Reversal of art evolution in the Greeks and the Romans.

The spirit of public affairs is abroad in modern Greece. Questions of public policy are debated with energy that might well remind one of the disputatious habits of the ancient people. At the present time, as of old, what is public business is the business of every Greek. Much of this interest—an intelligent interest withal—is to be traced to the admiration of the modern Greeks for their ancestors. We might well pause to note the difference of the backward look among the diverse peoples of the modern era. Most of them, all indeed who have a Teutonic ancestry, look back to barbarian beginnings and to a slow, laborious, and violent emergence, by painful stages, from a primitive savagery. Among the Latin races of the present time there is little of the admiring gaze for the great Roman race from which they are descended. The French, for instance, perceive clearly enough the peculiar vices—the arrogance, the haughtiness, the willful indifference to human rights, the spoliating spirit, the arbitrary principles of government—which were present in the society of ancient Rome; and they are little disposed to court a revival of such elements in modern times. But the Greeks look back with indescribable pride to that great intellectual, artistic, warlike an-

Passionate admiration of modern Greeks for their ancestors.



WOMAN OF LALA—TYPE.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

cestry whose deeds and fame shine afar beyond the obscurity and darkness of the mediæval night. They would emulate the deeds of their ancestors. They would achieve greatness by the same means as they, and naturally choose the same methods of reaching preëminence as did the Greeks of old.

Approximation of Greek habit to that of Western Europe.

There has been within the present half-century a rapid approximation of the Greek to the form and manner of his kinspeople in Western Europe. His semi-Oriental costume has given place to a habit like that of Germany and France. His manners have been translated into the European mood and tense. He still retains the unreformed calendar, and is therefore behind the Western nations by some twelve days in his computation of time. In his social system there is still a confluence of methods from the East and the West. Monogamy is the law, and is adhered to, as we have seen, both in letter and spirit.

Marriage and marriageability; excess of male population.

In case of the death of the wife the Greek husband may remarry a second and a third time; not a fourth. Greek girls are marriageable at thirteen years of age, and the young men at sixteen. The marriage is arranged by the parents of the parties. These latter features are Oriental, as is also that rule which requires the bride to bring a dowry in the form of a house or furniture or money to the groom. Among the peasants it is not infrequently the case that unmarried girls wear their whole dowry in the form of a headdress, containing many pieces of money—this to the end that the prospective husband may know his estate! Early marriage is prevalent. As a rule, the relation is contracted in youth. Greece is the only European country in which the males are in excess of the females; and this circumstance has doubtless contributed to stimulate the marrying disposition of the people.

Number and distribution of the inhabitants; the Greek cities.

During the great revolution with which the first quarter of the century closed the population of Greece was much reduced and scattered. The brutality and vindictiveness of the Turks acted as a scourge worse than the combined devastation of famine and pestilence. On the coming forth of the Greeks to independence they numbered only about six hundred and twelve thousand. The census of 1879 showed a population of one million six hundred and seventy-nine thousand, being an average of eighty-four to the square mile. The most densely peopled part of the country is the Ionian islands, where the average rises to two hundred and twenty-nine to the square mile. Continental Greece is the most thinly populated of any European country, with the exception of Russia and Sweden. But the rate is rapidly increasing, and the total has been doubled since 1832. Greece contains no city of the first class. The population of Athens is but little over sixty thousand. Patras has twenty-six thousand; Corfu, twenty-four thousand; Syra, twenty-one thousand; and Zante, twenty thousand. The odd disparity between the number of men and women is seen in all parts of the country. Nor have ethnologists as yet been able to explain a fact so unusual in a country so long inhabited.

CHAPTER LIV.—THE ALBANIANS.

THE second ethnic division of the peoples in modern Greece is the Albanians. They are known in the vernacular as Skipetars, or Arnauts, meaning mountaineers, or highlanders. As we have said, Albania Proper is nearly coincident with the ancient Greek country of Illyria. But the Albanian race is by no means limited to this region. On the contrary, it has extended over Attica and Megaris, with the exception of the capital cities. The greater part of Bœotia, a considerable district of Locris, and the southern half of Eubœa are also inhabited by Albanians. Parts of Ægina and Andros and the islands of Salamis, Paros, Hydra, and Spezzia have the same stock; and in Argolis, Sicyonia, Arcadia, Laconia, Messenia, and Elis settlements of Albanians are found here and there.

Albanians the descendants of the ancient Illyrians.

The people have a language of their own, which is an Aryan dialect, traceable no doubt to that ancient form of Greek which was spoken in Illyria at the time of the Hellenic ascendency. But nearly all the Albanians outside of their own country have learned Greek, and at the same time, to a considerable extent, neglected and forgotten their native language. Indeed, it is claimed that in Greece Proper there were in 1870 only about thirty-seven thousand of the Albanian race who had not adopted the Greek tongue. They have also become members of the Greek Church. In Albania Proper, Mohammedanism is the prevalent religion, though the Greek orthodox faith is acknowledged and permitted.

Derivation of the language; prevalence of the Greek tongue.

We are able to trace with tolerable certainty the long series of historical transformations by which the ancient Epirotes, Illyrians, and Macedonians were reborn during the Middle Ages into the modern Albanian race. We have seen in a preceding chapter something of the character and dispositions of the tribes inhabiting this region. Their greatest nationality was achieved under the Macedonian supremacy. After the decline of Macedonia and the resolution of the nation into petty states, the old instincts revived—the instincts of war and independence. In course of time the Gauls and Bulgarians began to press upon Greece, and the Greek race in its entirety was threatened with extinction by the barbarians. Now it was, however, that the Illyrians and men of Epirus constituted a breakwater against the floods. For a long time they maintained a defensive attitude against the Teutonic and Slavonic races on the north and west. At length the Mohammedans came in from the East, and the people whom we may now call Albanians had to face about and defend themselves against Islam. The Turks made little headway against this resolute enemy. A popular leader appeared in the celebrated George Castriota, whom the Turks called Scanderbeg. Time and again Mohammed II, after his conquest of Constantinople, set his armies against the Albanians, only to suffer defeat at their hands. After vainly trying to subjugate them, he acknowledged

Historical transformation of ancients into Albanians.

their independence by formal treaty, until after the death of Scanderbeg, when the war was renewed.

In 1478 Scutari was besieged by the

GREEK PRIEST.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

Turks, and the struggle ended adversely to the Albanians. But the mountaineers never truly accepted the domination of the Turks. The latter were obliged to hire the Albanian soldiers to serve in the army of the sultan, and to excite their natural love of booty with the prospect of plunder in foreign wars. During the Ottoman ascendency the Albanians remained in dependence upon the Mohammedan empire. But no sooner did that power begin to decline than the old spirit revived among the tribes of Macedonia and Illyria, and under the leadership of the renowned Ali Pasha, Albania, at the close of the eighteenth century, regained her rank and became almost an independent kingdom. The fame of this war and of its audacious leader gave subsequent character to the race. The Albanians were ever afterwards inflamed with the recollections of their struggle and victories, and Ali Pasha entered into the war songs of the country as a national hero.

Historical vicissitudes of Albanians from fifteenth century.

During the whole career of the Albanian race after the Mohammedan conquest, at the close of the fifteenth century, it has been subjected to the action of counter forces, some of which have drawn the people toward the Turks and others toward the Greeks. By race instinct they have sympathized with the Greeks, but their religious faith has kept them in alliance with Turkey. In the western part of Albania, particularly in the region of the Suli mountains, the Greek Church has maintained its place; and the Albanians, who are scattered in the states of Central and Southern Greece, are generally adherents of that Church. All such have sympathized with the movements of the modern Greeks in the direction of nationality. But the Macedonian Albanians have been kept under the sway of the Porte.

The race wavers between the Greeks and the Turcomans.

It was this condition of affairs that gave opportunity to Ali Pasha to play

SULIOTES—TYPES.—Drawn by A. Rixen.

double with the Turkish power during his whole career. It was the same circumstance which prevented the Albanians from entering heartily into the cause of Greek independence. If they had flung themselves with enthusiasm into the great rebellion of 1821, and if the Greeks had received them in the same spirit, there can be little doubt that the whole country would have been emancipated from Turkish rule. But the religious hatreds existing between the two races prevented any such union, and the Albanians either stood aloof from the contest or else made cause with the Turks.

Albanians fail to uphold the cause of the Greeks.

The Suliotes, however, who had already suffered at the hands of Ali Pasha, and had long endured the tyranny of the Turks, took up the cause of Greece. Had they been sufficiently advanced to submit cheerfully to the subordination required under military discipline, very effective work might have been expected at their hands. As it was, they, in common with the other Greeks, gained a great military fame throughout Western Europe. Under the leadership of Marcos Bozzaris, they first resisted the armies of Ali Pasha with a heroism worthy of the ancient race; and afterwards, in 1820, joining their forces with his in Epirus, they obtained the restoration of their mountain region, and then served in Western Greece against the Turks. In 1822 the Suliote army was decimated in their terrible attack on the stronghold of Kiapha, from which they attempted to liberate the Suliote garrison shut up therein. Bozzaris then led his countrymen into Missolonghi, where he continued to fight like a Greek hero of the epic age, until he was finally slain, as all the world knows, in a night attack on the Turkish camp. Lord Byron has not failed to catch the military spirit of the race in one of his Greek war songs:

Patriotic sympathies and valor of the Suliotes.

> "Oh! who is more brave than a dark Suliote,
> In his snowy camese and his shaggy capote?
> To the wolf and the vulture he leaves his wild flock,
> And descends to the plain like the stream from the rock."

The Albanians proper number about one million two hundred thousand souls. In this aggregate are included such Greeks and Turks as have settled in Macedonia, Epirus, and Illyria. More than one half of the population are Mohammedans, less than a half Greek Catholics. It is claimed, however, that the whole body of people sympathize with the Greek Church, and that the acceptance of Islam is traceable to interested motives. The males in each family go to the mosque to worship, but the women nearly all attend the church. Both religions are represented in the same household and at the same table. It frequently happens that dishes are served on the family table which are unclean to the Islamites but clean to the Christians. The wife will thus be seen helping herself to food which the husband and sons are forbidden to touch.

Number of Albanians; division on score of religion.

It is believed, however, that these differences are factitious, and are maintained only for political reasons. Doubtless the subtlety of the Greek race has contrived in such a situation much deception and insincerity. And it may well be believed that the men are more infidel than are the women, judged by the standard of Islam. From these circumstances the Albanians have never stood well with their masters. They are distrusted of infidelity and disloyalty to the Porte. The Turks have no confidence

Subtlety of old Greek character revives in Albanians.

ALBANIAN BRIGANDS.—Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

in the sincerity or devotion of their Albanian subjects, and have become accustomed to speak of them in terms of contempt. The character which the Albanians maintain toward their masters is the exact counterpart of the disposition of the ancient Greeks in like circumstances. The craft and deceptive exploits of the old race are reproduced in the duplicity and treachery of their modern descendants. It must be remembered, however, that these qualities of character do not involve the same turpitude when employed against the Turks as when exhibited in the conduct of Western peoples in their intercourse with each other. And it must also be borne in mind that the Albanians are much more open and frank than are the modern Greeks.

There is, perhaps, no place in Europe where so much lawlessness or individual license exists as in the mountainous districts of Albania. The community is less organized than any other west of the Black sea. The people are divided into bands resembling somewhat the clans of the Scottish highlands. It is said to be the exception to find an adult Albanian who is not, or has not been, a member of some group of self-governed brigands, whose chief energies are given to foray and plunder. The Albanians go full armed even to their daily pursuits. In the mountainous regions of Thessaly and Macedonia the chief protection of the family is the personal valor of the men. It is not regarded as disgraceful to lead the life of brigandage. As the men grow old and are not sufficiently active for good service in excursive lawlessness they become settled with their families, and it is their manner to speak to travelers—not without some show of pride—of the various hazards and incidents of their former life. In such conversation the Albanian hero will say without blush that this or that happened "when I was a robber."

License and brigandage of the Albanians.

The lawless pursuit of plundering is not disparaged in comparison with other vocations. The modern Albanian shares the indisposition of the old Greek to cultivate the soil. He is disposed to remand that work to slaves and menials while he goes forth into peril and adventure. The type of courage for which the Albanians are so famous throughout Europe is Greek in every feature. No one understands this better than the Turks. They accordingly recruit their armies as much as possible from the hill-country of Macedonia and Illyria. Whenever the robber class is overstocked the Albanians drift from brigandage into the pasha's army, and no other class of the Turkish soldiery is so much esteemed for valor and activity in the field. It was this element in the Turkish army during the Crimean war that called forth the admiration and almost the emulation of the British and French soldiers who were their allies against the Russians. The Zouave uniform and method of drill which have become popular in several parts of Europe and America are largely Albanian in their origin.

Value of the Albanians as soldiers of the Porte.

The city population of Albania is not great. Scutari, the capital, situated on the lake of the same name, has about forty thousand inhabitants. Prisrend is the principal manufacturing city. It is here that the firearms and cutlery used by the Albanians for domestic and warlike purposes are made. Commerce is not much encouraged. Most of the merchants of the country are Greeks, who have inherited the commercial

Industrial and commercial life; products and clothing.

spirit from their ancestors. The exports are almost exclusively unmanufactured products—cattle, sheep, provisions, silk, rawhides, drugs, dyestuffs, salted meats, and valonia, the last named being the acorn cups from the valonia oaks, from which the tannic acid of commerce is manufactured. Olives, grapes, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, mulberries, and figs are produced for home consumption. Oil, tobacco, and cotton are exported in considerable quantities. The timberless islands of the Mediterranean are supplied with building materials from the forests of Albania. The imports are mostly such fabrics as are needed for clothing. A large part of the coarser, cheaper manufactures of Germany are distributed in this region. The most active domestic trade is in firearms, cutlery, gunpowder, hardware, coffee, and sugar. The national outer garment for the men is called the capote, and this is a product of home manufacture, as well as most of the firearms and cutlery.

The costume of the Albanians is one of the most picturesque of modern times. It is in close analogy with that of the Highlanders of Scotland. The undergarment is a cotton shirt. Over this is a white woolen kilt which reaches to the knees; above this, a jacket. The waist is bound with a sash, or belt, in which is distributed a plentiful supply of pistols, yataghans, etc. The leggings are colored. The feet are protected with sandals. The red cap, known as the Turkish cap, is worn, and about this is generally twisted a red scarf or light shawl. The garment of the chieftain is distinguished from that of the common people by elegance of material and ornamentation. The jackets of the wealthy are made of velvet, and are embroidered with gold. Military officers and other great men have metal greaves over their leggings, and the latter are made of scarlet cloth. The outer garment, for protection against rain and snow, is the capote, a rough, shaggy mantle, with a hood to be drawn over the head. It is made of coarse woolen cloth or of horsehair woven into fabric. The general style of female dress is like that of the men, but is more varied, and frequently

Picturesqueness of the Albanian costumes.

ALBANIAN TYPE—ALEXANDROS SLAVROS.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

fantastical in fashion. We have already mentioned a custom among the Greek peasant girls of wearing their dowry of gold coins in their cap, or headdress. This usage also holds among the Albanians. The hair is abundant and is allowed to hang down the back in heavy braids, which are loaded with ornaments.

The person and bearing of the Albanians is sufficiently striking. They are of middle height. They have the oval, Greek face. The eyes are dark and brilliant. The cheek bones high and prominent. The neck is peculiarly long and the chest broad and full. The air, the manner, is haughty in the extreme. The carriage is erect and majestic—the walk almost stagelike in its majesty and striding vigor. The disposition is almost wholly Greek. The Albanians are never, as the Turks, dark-spirited, silent, grave, and plotting. On the contrary, they are gay, lively, joyful in manner, open, and active.

Personal bearing and manners; onset in battle.

The natural disposition is one of restlessness. Excitement is the mental food of the people, and danger the salt of every action and enterprise. The courage, adventure, and daring of the men amount to fierceness. The charge of the Suliotes, even the attack of a band of Albanian brigands, is like the oncoming of a storm. Few things merely human can stand in the wind of the onset. Perhaps in persistency of battle the race is not as conspicuous as it is in the first attack—the wild charge which is intended to carry the field as a blast sent forth. The Albanian soldiers are such as the French might be turned wild in the mountains of the East.

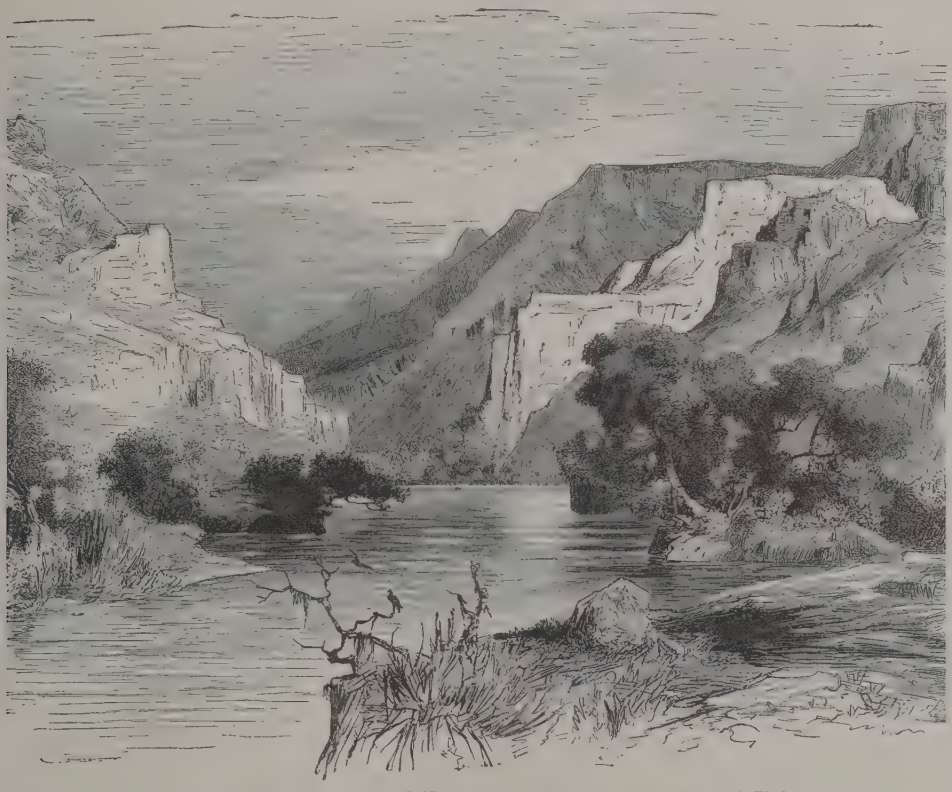
In several of their traits, however, the Albanians appear to have been influenced by the Turks. Notable among these dispositions is their contemptuous opinion of women. All Mohammedans hold virtually that the woman is only a convenient circumstance of man's life, made for his pleasure, associated with him as it were incidentally, subject to his will, obedient to his commands. These opinions have been impressed upon the Albanians during their nearly four hundred years of subjection to the Turks. They look upon women as an inferior order of creatures, even as animals; and the treatment which they extend to their wives and daughters is like the sentiment from which it proceeds. The women are abused, exposed to hardship, compelled to toil, reduced to a menial state, and held, indeed, as the followers of the Prophet are wont to hold the woman. Much slavish labor is put off by the Albanian men upon the women, and they are held to the performance of many tasks, both indoors and out, from which the women of Western Europe are generally spared. In one respect, however, their life is freer than that of their sisters among the Turks; they are not obliged to seclude themselves or veil their faces according to the Mohammedan habit.

Contemptuous estimate and abuse of woman.

The Albanian language is unmistakably the modern expression of the Græco-Illyrian tongue of antiquity. Its radical part is as old as the speech of those Hellenic tribes that contributed the first population to the Grecian peninsula. Should we look still further we should find that this Illyrian tongue of antiquity had its own root in Æolic Greek, that coarse, barbaric form of speech which the first Hellenes brought with them islandwise across the Ægean from their native seats in Phrygia. But the Illyrian dialect as it was spoken in the days of Alexander, the days of Pyrrhus,

Genealogy and modifications of the Albanian tongue.

the days of Philip V, was destined to suffer many vicissitudes before it should reach its modern development. It must feel the impact of barbarian languages, notably the Bulgarian. Afterwards it must be infected with Slavonic influences on the north. It must feel the effects of constant intercourse with the Greek race on the south. Finally it must be dominated by the language of the Ottoman Turks.



VALE OF TEMPE, WITH OLYMPUS AND THE PENEIOS.—Drawn by L. H. Fischer.

From all these foreign elements, to say nothing of incidental importations from the great nations of the West, the Albanian of to-day has gathered its forms. Essentially Aryan, specifically Greek, it has taken, somewhat after the English manner, so many alien infections as to make it a tongue *sui generis* even among the peculiarly composite speeches of Eastern Europe. Nor has the Albanian language as yet expanded and exhibited its powers in any extensive native literature. A few authors have within the present century risen to some note, but the greater part of the intellectual culture of the country is assimilated with that of the modern Greeks, and nearly all writers learn and employ the Greek language as their vehicle of literary expression. In writing Albanian both alphabets, the Latin and the Greek, are used, the former being most employed in those works which are translated from foreign literatures, such as the New Testament and other religious books; while the vernacular pro-

Meagerness of the literary development of the Albanians.

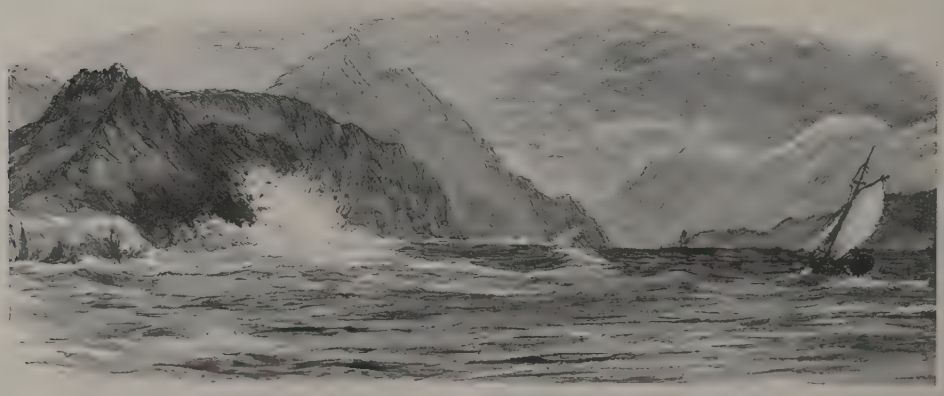
ductions are generally written in the Greek character.

Greeks and Albanians represent extreme of Aryan evolution.

We have thus arrived at the point from which we are for the first time able to look back over the whole extent of one division of the Aryan race. This is to say that the modern Greeks and the Albanians are at *the end of the twigs* of the first branch of the Aryan tree which we have been considering. The great question for historians and ethnologists, for students of these profound sciences, is to note and record the peculiar race characteristics which these modern peoples have derived from the original stock. We may summarize the subject thus: that this branch of Aryan life extended, in the prehistoric ages, from its origin in the Bactrian highlands westward across Mesopotamia, through Armenia, into Cappadocia and Phrygia, where it received its first historical development in ages far remote. Thence by migration certain wandering tribes set out for the West, and crossed the Upper Ægean into Thrace, veered southward into Macedonia and Thessaly, and continued its progress into Illyria and Epirus. Perhaps this first incoming was antecedent to the Æolic Greeks who came by the same route into the peninsula.

The old Illyrian stock was thus planted in the countries north of Greece Proper. This stock gave us in course of time the Macedonian ascendency. It passed at length under the dominion of the Roman race. After some centuries it was infested with barbarism from the north. After another great span it submitted to the Turco-Islamite domination from the East. With the decline of that power the old race revived, reässerted itself, represented itself in the character of the modern Albanians.

Meanwhile the same process had been going on in Greece. The course of ethnic events in that country we have already pointed out. Thus we have presented for our consideration the modern Greek and Albanian races as the representatives of the first division of the old Aryan family of mankind. We shall, in the next place, transfer our station from the Grecian peninsula into Italy, and in like manner watch the development of the Roman race to its complete efflorescence in the modern peoples now representing that tremendous human evolution.



BOOK VIII.—THE ROMANS.

CHAPTER LV.—THE ETRUSCANS.

A RACE condition very similar to that which has been described in the chapter on the aborigines of Hellas was present in primitive Italy. Before the incoming of the first Indo-European inhabitants into that peninsula two or three primitive races had already occupied the country. One of these, called the Iapygians, occupied the southern portion of the land, and thus formed a sort of substratum for the subsequent Græco-Italic development in that region. But a more important and interesting branch of mankind had taken possession of North and Central Italy and spread itself from sea to sea. It was here that the Etruscan family had possessed the country and built cities therein long anterior to the coming of the Latins.

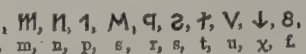
The Etruscans of Italy were not in the earliest times limited to the country west of the Apennines, as they were after the planting of Rome. They were established on both slopes of the mountains, spreading down on the east to the Po, and on the west from the Tiber to the Arno. They thus occupied one of the most important districts in the peninsula. Subsequently, they were displaced from their eastern positions by the mountain tribes contemporaneous with the primitive Latins, and were narrowed to the limits of what was afterward the classical state of Etruria. Here it was that the development of the Etruscans took place, and from this point of view we gather the fragmentary and uncertain remains of their civilization.

Parts of Italy occupied by the Etruscan race.

There is perhaps no ethnic problem involved in greater obscurity than that which relates to the origin of the Etruscans. Five or six theories have been plausibly supported by different schools in history and archæology. Though the Etruscans left many inscriptions, the

Great difficulty of determining race descent of the Etruscans.

determination of their alphabet and language has been beset with great difficulties. Not until 1841 did the scholar Lepsius finally ascertain the character of the Etruscan letters. The alphabet appears to have been deduced from a Græco-Chalcidian original, which in some manner had been transmitted to the western coast of Italy. It consists of nineteen letters, as follows:



ETRUSCAN ALPHABET.

This alphabet, it will be noted, has a striking peculiarity in the omission of the middle mutes *b*, *d*, and *g*. It has been noted also that the vowel *o* never occurs in the original inscriptions of Etruria.

Ethnic affinity with the Greek Pelasgians.

On the whole, and as a summary of the best that is known relative to the ethnic origin of the Etruscans, it may be said that they were of the same original stock with the Pelasgi, or primitive people of Greece. It is likely that in the migratory age, long anterior to the first appearance of Indo-European peoples in the West, the two races, Etruscan and Pelasgian, parted company in Thessaly, the latter making its way southward into Hellas and the Ægean islands, and the former, under dominion of the original migratory impulse, passing to the westward above the Adriatic, dropped into Upper Italy, where the mountains on the north and the sea on the west prevented further progress.

It appears that the true race name of this people is RAS, to which the Latin gentile termination *ennæ* has been affixed. They were the Rasennæ. But this ethnic designation is less common than several others. In the epic poets the people were generally designated as Tyrrheni, or Tyrseni, the latter being the name given to them by the Greeks. The common prose title used by the Roman writers was Tusci, or Etrusci, and the latter term has passed into the literature of modern times as the common name of the people. The territory in which they lived after the founding of Rome was clearly defined. It was in general the region bounded on the south by the Tiber, on the east by the Apennines, and on the west by the sea. The upper limit of the country was parallel with the Arno, but further north by a distance of about fifty miles. The region was one of the most interesting in all Italy, and has carried its importance into modern times.

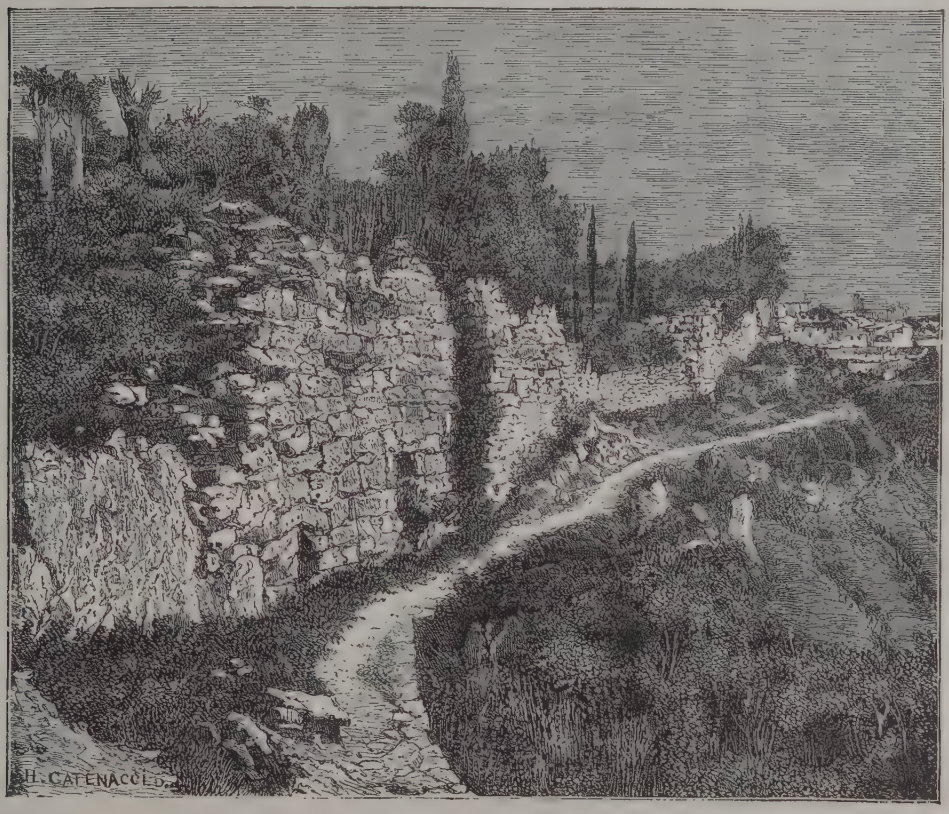
Old names of the Etruscans; their territories.

As in the case of the Egyptian monuments, the inscriptions and sculptures of the Etruscans have fortunately preserved the form and features of the people by whom they were produced. They were a race strongly discriminated in personal characteristics from the Latin and Sabellian Italians. Their unlikeness to the Greeks was equally emphatic. If any analogy of figure and personal character can be noted between the Etruscans and any other people of antiquity, such analogy points to the primitive inhabitants of Cyprus and to the Assyrians. The Etruscans were strongly marked as a distinct people. They were short in stature, having large heads and thick, muscular arms and legs. They appear to have been unusually strong and vigorous, heavy in person, and rough in exterior. They wore beards, which were closely curled about their faces, and their hair was likewise napped in a manner suggestive of the Africans or the primitive Elamites. The features were by

Features and characteristics of the race.

no means refined or classical, and the Etruscan artists seem to have delighted, as is shown on their coins and bronzes, in distorting the physiognomy of the race.

The remains of Etruscan civilization which have descended to modern times consist of antique monuments, heavy



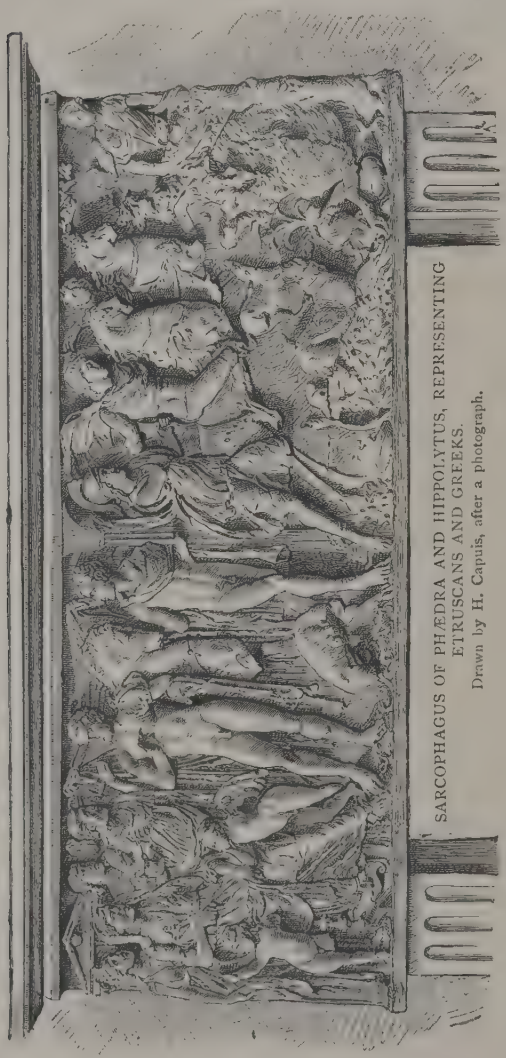
ETRUSCAN RUINS.—WALLS AT VOLTERRA.—Drawn by H. Catenacci.

stone walls, *cloacæ*, or aqueducts, sculptured tombs, vases, statues, coins, and personal ornaments. On the whole, the art of this primitive people is somewhat analogous to that of the Greeks, but seems to have been arrested in its earlier stages of development. The Etruscan memorials are all characterized by a certain rude strength, in striking contrast with the highly refined designs of the Hellenic artists. The relics of the former people are sufficiently abundant, and are not limited to the narrow geographical area known as Etruria. The fame of the Etruscan builders, especially their reputation as stone masons, extended into different parts of Italy. The early ages of Rome were infected with the designs and workmanship which were unmistakably the product of workmen out of Etruria. Many of the most striking structures belonging to the half-mythical age of the Roman kings were done by Etruscan architects and builders. Such a work was the great Cloaca Maxima, which to the present day bears silent witness to the tremendous energies

Character of the monumental remains of the Etruscans.

of the primitive artisans north of the Tiber.

If we descend into the minor artistic workmanship of the Etruscans we shall find much of interest and instruction.



SARCOPHAGUS OF PHÆDRA AND HIPPOLYTUS, REPRESENTING ETRUSCANS AND GREEKS.
Drawn by H. Caputs, after a photograph.

Artistic workmanship; the scarabs in particular.

One of their most significant branches of art was the production of scarabs and coins. The former (from *scarabæus*, a beetle) would appear to have had its origin in Egypt, whose monumental remains abound in representations of the sacred beetle. But it would seem that the Etruscan ornament of this pattern had a totally different origin. The material employed in the scarabs which are found in the Etruscan tombs and in the excavations of cities and country places is carnelian, or banded agate. The piece selected is reduced to a circular form and flat surface, on which the design is engraved in intaglio. The ornament is pierced transversely and hung by a swivel to the rings which were worn for ornament or to chains for the neck.

Etruscan art work generally of Greek derivation.

No doubt the kind of engraving exhibited on these relics belonged to the later period of Etruscan development, when the art of the Greeks and the Oriental nations had infected the primitive races of the West. It has been thought that the gems in question are as late as the seventh or even the sixth century before our era. Indeed, it is in direct proof that many of the designs on the scarabs are deduced from Hellenic sources. Of the one hundred and ninety-seven gems of this variety preserved in the British Museum, all but thirty bear legends and designs which have been gathered from the heroic age of the Greeks, and it is believed that only two represent native Etruscan subjects.

The work done on the Etruscan coins is similar to that on the gems just described. It appears that the manner of manufacturing the coins was analogous to that employed by the Greeks of Miletus and Attica. A ball of bronze, or of silver or gold, of the proper weight was laid in a concavity on the face of some metallic plate, resem-

The Etruscan coins, and method of their production.

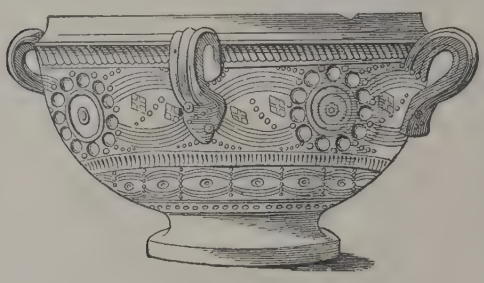
bling an anvil. Corresponding to this was a sledge, with a concavity in its face, and this was brought down upon the bolus of metal, compressing and flattening it out. Mechanically considered the coins are rude. Their edges are irregular and frequently split from the blow which produced the impression. But the artistic work is of a good quality, not to say superior. The design is intaglio so far as the dies are concerned, but the figures on the coin are mostly in relief. The Gorgon head, the cuttlefish, and the beetle are favorite figures in the Etruscan coinage. It is demonstrable that the coins themselves are weighed and modeled after styles which had already been established in the Ægean islands and in Asia Minor. The standard frequently corresponds with that of Miletus or Athens. It is believed that most of the Etruscan coins in the British Museum and elsewhere belonged to the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century before our era.

Next in interest among the remains of this early people of Italy may be mentioned their terra-cotta work, known among antiquaries as *black ware*. This variety of artisanship abounds, and is so peculiar as to be readily recognized by any one having tolerable skill in antiquities. The vases, which constitute the larger part of such work, are modeled in the first place of clay, and are of tolerably well conceived designs. Their peculiar feature is an engraved band of images running around the middle of the vase, producing the effect of what is called a procession of figures. It is evident from an examination that this band of figures was produced by an engraved cylinder bearing the images, in intaglio, on its surface. The cylinder

ETRUSCAN VASES.—From *Magazine of Art.*

was rolled around the body of the vase while the clay was still plastic, and the figures in the procession were thus pressed into relief. It is noted that the designs in question are Oriental, being in analogy with the figure work of Egypt and Assyria rather than that of the Greeks. The images thus set in relief around the center of the vases consists of rows of animals, such as the lion, the deer, the panther, and the sphinx. The procession is generally closed by a human figure with wings, which seems to be moving at speed and pressing forward the animals before it. It is believed by antiquaries that the terra-cotta

Terra-cotta work; vases and images thereon.



ARETIN VASE.
Drawn by Matthias.

of the Etruscans has many points of identity with the like work of the Phœnicians, and examples of similar work have been found in the island of Cyprus. In general, the form of art which we are here describing never descends into geometric patterns such as were employed among the early Greeks.

Another species of art work in which the Etruscans may be said to have excelled was the manufacture of jewelry. The tombs of the country abound in specimens of the goldsmith's work, such as necklaces, earrings, wreaths, bracelets, finger rings, and fibulæ for fastening the scarfs and dresses of ladies. In examining these articles, the same perplexity arises which has been mentioned respecting the origin of the other elements of Etruscan civilization. The jewelry is sufficiently elegant to have been modeled after that of the Greeks, or at least to have been derived from a common source with the like art of the Hellenes. But the Etruscan methods and patterns indicate a different source. Instead of the filigree work for which the Greek goldsmiths were so famous, that is, the method of soldering down fine gold wire into a desired pattern, the Etruscan artists employed another kind of art by which the metal was dropped in minute globules, each separately made and soldered down into the required position. This constitutes what is known as granulated work—a style peculiar to the Orient.

Etruscan jewelry; method of granulation.

As far as such analogies go the jewelry of the Etruscans appears to have been patterned after that of Cyprus. It has been declared by Cesnola that certain gold necklaces discovered in Etruscan tombs are identical in pattern and fabrication with like articles of Cypriot manufacture. It should not be forgotten, however, that the fine arts are not necessarily derivative the one from the other. It is perfectly within the bounds of reason to suppose that native development among different peoples may have reached similar or identical results without any historical connection between them.

Styles from Cyprus; fine arts not necessarily derivative.

The manufacture and employment of bronze in the arts was well known to the Etruscans. Few of the primitive peoples have surpassed them as makers of this composite metal. Among the relics of bronze work which they have left to posterity, their mirrors may be mentioned with admiration. The same

Bronzes and painting; art subjects from Greek story.

were generally circular in form, with a handle attached to one side of the periphery. The polished surface of these articles was exceedingly smooth and highly finished, returning an image quite as accurate as that reflected from modern mirrors. On the back of the mirror the space was covered with ornamental work in relief. Beautiful wreaths, surrounding a figure from mythology or some fabulous animal, were arranged on the surface, and various styles of ornamentation employed to heighten the quality and artistic finish of the article. It has been noted that this work, as well as the designs on the scarabs referred to above, has its subjects for the most part from the heroic age of the Greeks. Various well-known myths and legends, such as the story of Helen, the Trojan War, the Labors of Hercules, are set in relief upon the backs of these bronze mirrors of the Etruscans. It appears that their skill extended only in a slight degree to bronze castings, their work being executed with the hammer and by repoussé. Cast statuettes of bronze, however, are found in many of the tombs, and in these an analogy is noticeable with similar productions of Greek art.

The Etruscans were acquainted with the use of pigments and design in color. They painted their vases with considerable skill, though it is believed that the artists employed for this work were for the most part Greeks. The subjects are, like those already referred to, from the mythical age of the Hellenes. Sometimes the design is Theseus struggling with the Minotaur. Sometimes it is Ariadne holding the clew; sometimes a chorus; sometimes a procession of chariots and centaurs with the forelegs of men.

The Etruscan artists also painted the walls of their houses and their tombs.

TORSO OF ANTIQUE LION IN BRONZE.—Drawn by P. Sellier, from a photograph of original found at Fiesole, in 1882.

In the latter the best examples of the old method of coloring and design are found. The tints used were red, brown, yellow, carnation, blue, and black; and it appears that the work was highly colored, and sometimes glaring. In the sepulchers of Veii, Tarquinii, and Cære many examples of this ancient art have been recovered and subjected to criticism. It appears that three successive stages had occurred in the artistic development of the Etruscans before they were subjected to the dominant race of Italy. The oldest presents the work of primitive artists before the country had been infected with Hellenic influences.

Skill in coloring illustrated in sepulchers.

In the second stage the leading features of Greek painting begin to appear, while in the third stage the influence of the foreign schools has become clearly dominant.

Etruria was, perhaps, the first political state west of the Adriatic. So far as civil organization existed, it appears to have been municipal in character. Tradition transmitted to the Romans and to after times the story of twelve cities which had constituted the nuclei of Etruscan influence. These primitive towns were not all contemporaneous but were rather the successive centers of the Etruscan state. They constituted a league, out of which some members were dropped and into which others would enter. The principal of these was the town of Veii, the site of which corresponded with that of the modern Isola Farnese. It was about eleven miles from that Rome which was destined to be a victorious rival and destroyer of the older city. The Etruscan stronghold was built on a cliff and surrounded with strong walls. The adjacent territory was rich in resources, and there were four or five subject towns which contributed to the wealth and resources of the capital. The story of the relations of Veii with primitive Rome is well known in all the annals relating to the first struggles of the city of Romulus.

Priority of Etruria among West Aryan states.

Next in importance was the town of Tarquinii, identical in site with the modern Corneto. There is a legend to the effect that at the beginning of the seventh century B. C., a Corinthian merchant named Demaratus fled from the tyranny which then prevailed in his native city and established himself, with certain Greek companions, at Tarquinii. Here he married a native lady, and the union became the origin of the house of Tarquin at Rome. Next in importance among the Etruscan cities was Cære. It appears that this place, however, had sunk in influence and power before the rise of Rome, and so the Cærites played but a small part in the struggle which subsequently ensued for the dominion of Italy.

Tarquinii and other principal cities of the Etruscans.

Another of these ancient Etruscan cities near the Tiber was Falerii, which, like Veii, was founded on a high, bare rock. This place continued to be a stronghold of the race until the rising power of the Romans ultimately reduced it to subjection. Next in order of the twelve cities may be mentioned Volci, which appears to have been of no considerable importance in the later days of Etruria, but, as we know from its numerous sepulchers, must have been originally a populous city. A single tomb, known as the Tumulus of Cucumella, is to the present day noted for its size and remarkable appearance. It is a circular mound, about two hundred feet in diameter and from forty to fifty feet in height. It is similar in character to the famous tomb of King Alyattes, in Lydia, and to that described by Pliny as being the sepulcher of Porsena, of Clusium.

Next may be mentioned the cities of Volsinii and Clusium, the latter of which appears to have been a very ancient town, founded by the Umbrians, but subsequently taken and peopled by the Etruscans. Its well-known importance in the times of King Porsena has passed into tradition and history. The relations of the city to Rome in the time of the Tarquins, at the close of the sixth century B. C., need not be repeated. Still another of the twelve cities was Arretium, the modern Arezzo. This place

Historical importance of Clusium, Arretium, and Cortona.

was not one of the most ancient municipalities of Etruria, but rose to influence in the later times when Rome had already become the dominant state of the peninsula. Similar in situation to Veii was Cortona, founded on a high, bare cliff, easily defensible against the enemy. This town appears to have been one of the most ancient of all. Tradition preserved. Some of the best Etruscan inscriptions have been recovered from this locality. Perusia was at many times in relations of war and peace with the primitive Latins, and continued to be a municipality of considerable power and daring as late as the times of Fabius. The city government was preserved

Relations of Perusia to the Roman state.

MODERN AREZZO.—Drawn by Taylor from a photograph.

assigns to it an Umbrian origin and a subsequent Etruscan conquest, as in the case of Clusium.

The same story has been perpetuated relative to the founding and subsequent vicissitudes of Perusia, the modern Perugia. Part of the walls of this old Etruscan town and many other objects of interest connected with it are still down to the close of the Roman republic, and was reduced by famine and by one of the armies of Augustus.

The other three cities of ancient Etruria were Volaterræ, Populonia, and Russellæ, the first of which was noted for its massive walls, whose outlines are still traceable above the ground. This place also engaged in the early struggle

when the Tarquins, backed by the Etruscans, were contending for the mastery of Rome. Populonia was noted for its iron manufacture as late as the times of Scipio Africanus. The smiths of this city furnished the grappling hooks and other iron apparatus for the Roman fleet. The old walls built by the Etruscan

Building and manufactures of Volaterræ and Populonia.

attainments in Western Italy long before the ascendency of the Latin race in the peninsula. The remnants of their civilized and industrial life are plentifully distributed in the country of their ancient occupancy even to the present day. Their coins and their bronzes are found in all the principal museums of the

Interesting remains from time of the Etruscan ascendency.

ETRUSCAN WALL AT CORTONA.—Drawn by H. Catenacci.

masons of Russellæ, the modern Rosello, still mark the place of the city. Like its sister towns of the league, it struggled with the Romans, and was not subdued until the beginning of the third century before our era.

We thus perceive the outlines of an ancient, half-civilized state founded by a people of considerable progress and world, and their terra-cotta work, especially their vases and their great sarcophagi, surrounded with processions of figures and crowned on the lid with the effigies of the dead, preserve an everlasting memorial of the artistic sense which appears to have been to a certain extent native in the race, but largely subject to foreign development.

It must be noted that these people are hardly of a grade of intelligence and power to warrant their classification with barbarians. Like the great race whose beginnings have been noted in a former part of this work, relative to the planting of civilization in the valley of the Indus, the Pelasgians of Greece and the Etruscans of Italy had already well advanced from the barbarous condition at our earliest acquaintance with them. What may have been the previous tribal history, how low or how high may have been what may be truly called the aboriginal state of these peoples, it is impossible in the present state of human knowledge to determine. Certain it is that they were not savages. They bore weapons of bronze. They cultivated the soil. They knew the arts of stone-cutting and of building. The remains of their masonry are matters of astonishment to the present day. Of their intellectual life but little is known, and to what extent the race, if undisturbed in its native seats, might have risen by subsequent development is purely conjectural.

Rank of the Etruscans in the scale of civilization.

It is sufficient, in conclusion of the present chapter, to note the strong line of demarkation between what is called historic ethnology and prehistoric ethnology. The former relates to the movements and character of such peoples as have already made considerable progress from the barbarian condition. It discusses the tendencies and prospects and actual attainments of tribes that have shown themselves to be in the evolutionary process and to have reached such a level of conscious life as to merit the attention of the ethnographer and the historian. Such peoples were the House-Folk of old Arya, described in the first volume; such were the Pelasgian inhabitants of Hellas and the Ægean islands, and such were the Etruscans of Central Italy. These peoples, though primitive, can not be regarded as aboriginal. Back of them is a lost history covering long migrations and obscure manners and undiscoverable stages of development.

Distinction between historic and prehistoric ethnology.

CHAPTER LVI.—OLD ITALICANS AND THEIR HABITAT.

MANY times in the preceding pages the epithet Græco-Italic has been used as definitive of a certain branch of the human family. The word is compound, and the fact in ethnography to which it applies is like it. So many and striking are the identities discoverable among the primitive peoples of Greece and Italy as to compel the belief that they held together in their progress out of Asia until the features and peculiarities of all had been determined by a common growth. Close investigation has now proved, from a historical basis, the community of the Greek and Latin families in the migratory and tribal epochs. Though the Latins, in their progress out of Asia Minor to the West, did not leave en route any distinct evidences of their existence in Northern Greece, we are nevertheless able to trace their progress, and by means of language to determine the common movement westward of the oldest Hellenes and the Italicans.

Intimate ethnic relations of the Latin and Greek races.

We have already had occasion to remark upon the striking similarities between the Æolic Greeks and the Latins. The languages spoken by the two races had many affinities which can not be discovered between Latin and the classical Greek of Central Hellas. There was undoubtedly a time when Æolic and Latin were one. It would appear that in the migrations of this tribe, which contained the potency of so great a development, the Italicans were in the advance. They seem to have led the way across Northern Greece, dragging the Æolians behind them.

Close kinship of Latin language and Æolic Greek.

The movement here referred to antedates, no doubt, by a great space the incoming of the Dorians and the Ionians. We may well believe that the Latin race was the oldest branch of the Græco-Italic family. In its progress through Thrace and Thessaly and Illyria it disentangled itself from the Æolians, leaving them behind. We must think of this phenomenon as a movement westward of the more radical and adventurous part of the combined tribes until the same would become first attenuated, and would then part in twain, leaving the vanguard to move on, and depositing the conservative elements in settled communities. While this movement was taking place, we may perceive the deposition in Thrace, Thessaly, and Illyria of that primitive and somewhat barbarous population which in subsequent times failed to participate in the splendid growth and blossom of Greek nationality.

Latin tribes really the vanguard of Dorian migration.

Fixing our attention, then, upon the West-bound division of this Græco-Italic race, we find it made up of two elements. These in their turn presently parted company, throwing forward an older stock into the west of Central Italy. These were the Latini, so called, who may be said to have constituted the germ of the Roman race. We may not clearly perceive by what route the Latins made their way into the country which took their name, on the left bank of the Tiber and southward from its mouth. Tradition and probability have been busy with the problem. The course may have been by land, possibly by water. Legend has preferred the latter theory. There was a Mediterranean voyage and a debarcation of some shiploads of ocean-tossed adventurers, "driven by fate to the Lavinian shore." Or, again, the movement may have been around the head of the Adriatic and across the mountains of the peninsula to the land of settlement. In the latter case, we should be perplexed to account for the localization of the Latini west of the Apennines rather than on the eastern coast; but the first tribes might have passed through a comparatively unsettled country and over the lower mountain ridges by easy routes to their chosen home. Thus at length was the original stock planted in Latium, where, according to the Vergilian song, it was ruled three hundred years by a race of primitive kings. Three hundred years is easily said, and may be accepted—as a part of the epic.

Movements and distribution of the Latini in Italy.

The other Italic family, called the Sabellians, came afterwards. We may well believe that their coming was by land marches around the sea and into the peninsula. Their place of settlement in the central mountain regions on the eastern slopes toward the Adriatic would indicate an immigration by land. The Sabellians were the younger division of the Italic family, but in the primitive ages they developed much more rapidly than did the Latini. The

Place and descendent tribes of the Sabellians.

ITALIAN LANDSCAPE.—Procida and Ischia.—Drawn by Alfred East.

Sabellian stock put out many vigorous branches—Samnites at the head, Sabines, Marsi, Volsci, Æqui, Hernici, Rutuli, Pæligni, Frentani. This was a remarkable outputting as compared with the very limited branching of the Latins into the two families of Ausones and Siculi; but the early promise of the Sabellian development was destined to

Central Italy Latinized; the south Hellenized.

say Central Italy, for in the north another race occupied the peninsula, and seemingly held it fast. These were the Etruscans. They were spread in a broad band from the Po on the east across to the Arno on the west. They were a strong and vigorous people, already in full tide of development when

ANCIENT LATINI.—From Relief on Trojan's Column.

disappointment in the after results. For when the tardy Latin stem at last began to flourish the Sabellians were overshadowed, and at last drawn up by the stronger plant as mere nutriment on which to feed.

Thus we may conceive of Central Italy peopled by Aryan tribes in the prehistoric dawn. We have already in a former book described the distribution of them through the country. We

the Roman plant was green in the sap. Also in the south, owing to the rapid development of Hellenic civilization in the eastern peninsula, Greek colonies had been flung forth; and what with a delightful country and what with the native vigor of the race, these had grown into flourishing states, much more promising in aspect than anything which might be discovered in Central or Northern Italy. Here in the south

was planted Magna Græcia, that Great Greece of which something has been said in connection with the subject of Greek colonization.

Three belts of Italican population; the Celtic invasion.

Thus were the three bands of the primitive Italian populations drawn across the peninsula: on the north, the Etruscan band; in the center, the Aryan, or Italic, band; on the south, the Grecian band, the most enlightened and less at this time making their way backwards by reflex migration from the west, turned through the Alpine passes and fell upon the Etruscans in the valley of the Po. The latter were displaced, driven forth by the shock. They were forced to the west, confined henceforth to the region between the Arno and the Tiber. From this seat, presently, the Latins on the south will contend with them for the mastery of the country.

THEATER OF THE GREEK COLONISTS AT SYRACUSE.—Drawn by MacWhirter.

forward of the early stocks. In the central development the Sabellian tribes dwelt from the Apennines to the Adriatic, and somewhat encircled the Latins, who held to Latium in the west. Such was the seat of what was destined to be the Roman power, and such was its primitive ethnic aspect.

At length the Etruscans suffered an onset from the north. Beyond the Alps there was disturbance and an eruption. Certain Celtic nations, doubt-

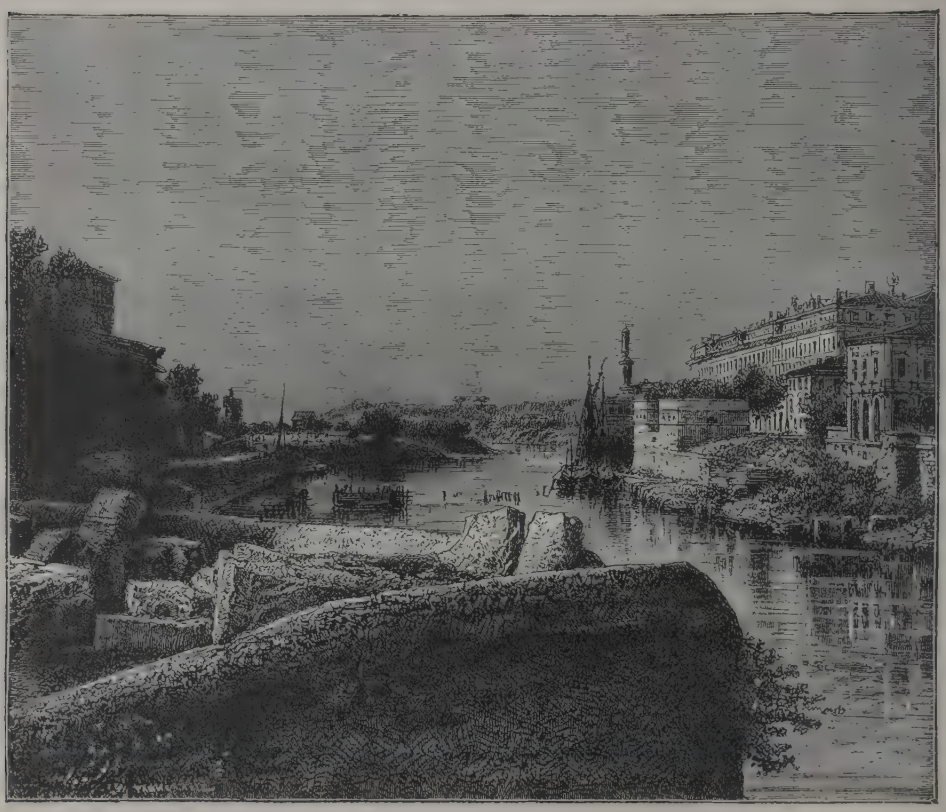
Slow is the growth of the oak. It takes time and season and tempest. The Italic stock set in Latium is like it. For a long time its progress upward and outward, its branching, its increase in girth are scarcely noticeable. Once, possibly twice, it is transplanted; so says the legend. From the high country of Alba Longa, whence the traveler may behold the sea, this strong stalk is taken in its infancy and reset on the banks of the

Vigor and hardihood of the Roman gens.

Tiber. It is the story of the twin whelps of Mars, nursed as castaways by the ferocious brute whose brazen dugs one may still see in the Vatican. The origin was war and violence, unlawful love, the seizing of strange women by perfidy, and then more war to make valid the rape. Storm and tempest were not wanting; hardship, strong blasts, dangers, thunderbolts out of heaven, whirlwinds in the old forum, hiding murder in the dust-clouds. A rude and boisterous beginning; but the roots of the tree went down to the everlasting rock, and the ancient harusppice might well see in vision the wild birds of centuries gathering in its branches.

Quite unlike the evolution of the Hellenes was that of the primitive Romans. In the latter there is less complexity—mere vehemence of strength. Many elements are fused together about the Tiber hills—many human elements representing diverse qualities of blood. When the huge axle, the central fact in infinite machinery, is to be forged, scraps of most various iron gathered from divers places are thrown together in a heap. The great sheet beneath them is folded up blanketwise about them, and the whole is thrown into the furnace. White is the heat glowing around it until, at the melting point, it is drawn forth under the hammer. Down goes the crushing weight and the forging begins. The

Vehemence and energy of the Roman evolution.



VIEW ON THE TIBER.—Saint Michael and the Aventine.—Drawn by H. Clerget, from a photograph.

mass is kneaded into one. It is rolled and beaten till the fiber is interlocked through every part with a strength and tenacity not to be undone or rent asunder. So the human welding on the Tiber began. Sabine robbers and Roman robbers, rough shepherds from the hills, barbarous princes from old Lavinium, chieftains from Samnium, and strong stone masons from the quarries of Etruria are thrown together and fused in the furnace of war and marriage. Out of the heat comes a new creature whom men call Roman. Beware of him! He is strong and will fight.

But at first he was a farmer. We should here say that it is not men of the commercial, industrial, artistic instinct that roll first and furthest to the West. In the New World we have seen the mighty progress of the human wave from ocean to ocean. Marking its Western quality, we see ever the strongest and roughest parts. The tumble of the man-sea flings its rough breakers and heavy pebbles afar out with its advance on the shore. There is also ever a great preponderance of males in the vanguard. Glance at the sex-map in the *Statistical Atlas of the United States* wherein the darker colors represent the preponderance of male-life, and you shall see how all the Western frontier is shaded down to black. The weak creature, the female creature, the artistic creature, can not at first make its way so far to the West.

Strongest male elements along the Western border.

GREAT CATTLE OF THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA.
Drawn by Henri Regnault, from nature.

So in the Old World. As the Græco-Italics came out of Asia, the stronger parts went in advance. Not that the rest were weak; for they too had been toughened and developed by long migrations and great vicissitudes of scene and circumstance. But the men of might, coarse, wild men, strong in endeavor, courageous, strenuous in the struggle of life, were in the van. They reach Italy—the western parts of Italy. The Tyrrhenian sea forbids their progress westward. They fix themselves in Latium. The migratory impulse sinks into settlement. The old chiefs become petty kings. The soil, the landscape are most inviting. The Italic immigrants may have felt, as they looked upon the blossoming, vine-draped hillsides and valleys, as did Leif Ericsson's old Norsemen as they debouched into Massachusetts and Rhode Island! The Romans established themselves on the soil. They began its tillage; and ever afterwards, even to the collapse of the empire at the close of the fifth century of our era, fully twelve

Aggressiveness and courage of the Græco-Italic van.

hundred years away, the agricultural instinct was dominant in the race.

Two other dispositions appeared at the beginning. The breeding and rearing of domestic animals, and the building of walled towns as centers of defense and refuge. Italy is the native seat of cattle and swine. Of the former race the archæologist discovers traces of an astonishing character. In the ancient valley of Pavia rose and flourished the *Bos primigenius*, the Big ox, of archæology. Mark his skull, still exhumed from the soil of his native valley. It is the grandest ox head known in the world. Not those of Uruguay or of Southwestern North America can equal the majestic front of the extinct Pavian bullock. Five feet from tip to tip are those tremendous horn-cores, the horns themselves lost in the dust of ages. To this day the same splendid race inhabits Northern Italy. The finest horns which are exposed for sale among the mounted bric-a-brac of stylish shops in St. Petersburg, in Paris, in New York, are taken from the heads of Pavian oxen.—But of the native resources of ancient Italy and the way in which the primitive Romans availed themselves of the same we shall remark hereafter.

Farming instinct supplemented with passion for cattle raising.

MEDITERRANEAN LANDSCAPE.—Porto Ferrajo.—Drawn by J. Fulleylove.

The old Italicans were the builders of strongholds. There was something of the sort at traditional Alba Longa. Lavinium was defensible. "And with much labor they shall fortify Lavinium," says Vergil. Rome was so from the beginning. It was for leaping over the wall that Remus lost his rash life. A dangerous thing was it, from the primal day, to leap over a Roman wall! We shall see at once that the earliest social

The Roman race the builders of strongholds.

ITALICAN ENVIRONMENT.—Pine Forest of Ravenna.—Drawn by W. H. Boot.

and political conditions in Latium had respect to the towns. So strong was the disposition to create these fastburgs on the hills that during the whole evolution and career of Rome she remained either a municipality or a congeries of municipalities bound together by political ties. This fact was one of the causes of the exceeding strength manifested by the Italican peoples. Their town, wherever it was planted, was a stake driven into the earth which not even the tempest of war could drag up and cast away.

A land of extreme beauty was this Old Italy, inhabited now by the new comers from the East. At bottom, it is the warmest country of Europe, but the sea on both sides tempers the heat, moistens the air. From north to south there is centrally through the whole peninsula the range of the Apennines; and even as far down as Calabria these retain the snow on their summits to midsummer.

Beauty of Italy and mildness of climate.

Unlike Greece in almost every particular is this great peninsula. Mark the seacoast as an example of prime difference. The coast of Greece is a continuous harbor, a repetition of harbors. Begin at Thrace, on the north and east, and trace the whole sea line southward around Peloponnesus and up on the west to Illyria, and you shall find harbor after harbor. It is the natural abode of seacraft; hence the abode of commerce, of foreign intercourse, of colonization, of intellectual interfusion with all the world. But here in Italy the coast is without indentation. On the Adriatic side, from Venice to the heel of Italy, the sea line is absolutely unbroken. The instep is the gulf of Tarentum. On the west the country is almost equally harborless. One may easily perceive good reason why the ancient Romans did not take to the sea; why as late as the Middle Punic Wars they were still novices in the art of shipbuilding; why their commerce was neglected and the whole energies of the people turned to inland production. It was the necessity of the situation, a suggestion of the land and the sea.

Absence of harbors retards the commercial evolution.

The general aspect of Italy is one of simple beauty. The complexity of Greece is wanting. The break-up and jumble of the natural forces which must ever impress the traveler through Hellas are not seen in Italy. Not that variety is wanting—vast variety—but over it all there is a oneness of beauty, a cerulean sky above, a balmy atmosphere, an equable temperature, a regularity of season, a moderation in earth and sea and sky. The extension of the Apennines and their spurs into the extreme south prevents any marked differences between Northern and Southern Italy. As we journey southward from the valleys of the Po and the Arno there is a gradual rising of tropical features in the landscape; but the country taken as a whole has great uniformity of conditions. It is semitropical in all the lowlying parts, and only temperate among the hills and mountains. We may well pause for a moment to consider the resources which this fair land offered to the primitive Italic races.

Uniformity of natural conditions throughout Italy.

CHAPTER LVII.—SUBSISTENCE AND PRIMITIVE CONDITIONS.

THE immigrants into Italy found the hill-slopes of their country covered with oaks and sweet chestnuts. The fruit of the latter tree was one of the principal natural resources of the early race. In many parts of Italy the chestnut has been from time immemorial a substitute for corn, and in some mountain districts it is the principal food to the present day. It must not be thought that such a gift of nature as a nut growing wild in the forest was a trivial circumstance with immigrant peoples before their industries had become complex and multiform. Even the acorn was by no means a neglected fruit by the primitive settlers of Europe. There were times when whole tribes and rising peoples looked to the annual gift of the oak as a means of support. This was true in Latium and in other parts of Italy as late as the time when the mythical kings were struggling into the early light of history.

Importance of certain nuts to the primitive Italicans.

But better than any form of mast was the olive, which grew wild and abundant when the Aryans came in. From the earliest days this fruit was an important food. Its richness in oil was known from the earliest times. In this was found a substitute for butter and the fat of animals; and with the opening up of commercial relations olive oil became a prime article of the market. It does not appear that the other citrus fruits were known in primitive Italy. The orange, the lemon, the citron, the lime were of later introduction; and the same is true of the Indian fig and the aloe. In later ages all these fruits abounded. In the sixteenth century Indian corn was introduced into Italy, and has ever since constituted one of the principal crops. Pomegranates and the licorice root grow wild, as do the mastic and the myrtle.

Other native and transplanted products.

Descending somewhat from the higher levels and approaching the shore we reach the native land of the vine. How far the evolution of the grape had proceeded in the days of the primitive Latins it would be impossible to tell; but we know that in their hands the vine became a thing of beauty, and its fruit one of the prime objects of Roman desire. The manufacture of wine was understood by the Aryan tribes long before their outgoing from Asia. Indeed, it would appear that wine-making is absolutely the oldest art known to man. The tradition of every race has preserved references to the use of this beverage, and generally to its intoxicating qualities, as far back as the beginnings of civilization. Certain it is that in Italy, before the days of romance and song, before the days of conquest and glory, the common beverage of the people, from the rustic board of the Latin farmer to the semibarbaric feast of his king, was wine.

Prevalence of the vine; wine-making the oldest art.

In the primitive Italian fields grew those noble grass seeds called wheat and rye and barley. The origin of these grains in their developed form is far back in the childhood of the human race. They are as old as Europe, that is, as old as the

Richness of the country in the cereal grains.

man of Europe. In Italy rye flourished most in the Po valley; wheat and barley through Central and Southern Italy. From time immemorial these grains were the breadcorn of the Italicans. They were not used in the production of malt, and have never been. For in a country flowing with wine as if it were spring water, what need of ale or beer or the fiery decoctions of alcohol? The cereals were used by the old Italians after the primitive manner of parching and pounding. Vergil has shown us in what way the half-drowned Æneids, thrown up on the Carthaginian shore, hastened to bring out their sea-soaked corn to dry it by the fire, to parch it, *et frangere saxo fruges*—to break the grains on a stone. So did the old Italians of history.

The valley soil and loam of Italy was fertile in the highest degree. Herein grew all manner of succulent roots; turnips, parsnips, carrots, artichokes, and many other varieties of ground products. The earth had in it an almost tropical quality. Onions, garlic, love-apples, which the moderns call tomatoes, and capsicums have always abounded in Italy. The melon species added its varieties to the natural abundance of the country, while beyond the garden grows the orchard, with a wealth of fruits rarely equaled in other lands.

Ground and vine products, dates, and figs.

VIEW OF BIBBIENA.—Drawn by G. Vuillier.

In the warm districts on the south-

western coast the date flourished. One might almost be reminded of Mesopotamia by the genial heat and power of this southern air. In all the more favorable parts of Central and Southern Italy the fig tree grew vigorously and yielded abundant fruit. It was among the best native gifts to the primitive Italicans, as well as to the strong Romans of the middle period. But it is not needed to enumerate the well-known list of products which fertile and balmy Italy gave with such abounding generosity to those who sought her friendship.

Strength and permanency of the Latin planting.

The old Latini fixed themselves on this fine soil, in this beautiful landscape, amid these generous surroundings. They came to stay. From the tribal emergence of the Latin race to the downfall of the Western empire is a period of more than thirteen centuries; or if we reckon to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, a little over two thousand two hundred years. It is the longest single stretch of political dominion known in the annals of mankind. The root of this tree went down in Latium, and we may now notice the spreading of its early branches. Not that we shall enter upon any formal account of events. It is ours rather to watch the growth of the race, to trace out the sources and elements of its strength, and to mark what things soever it assimilated from the surrounding world.

Rome was a city. It was not at first a state. It was never a state in the sense in which that word is used in modern times. Before Rome the country was Latium. There was the confederacy of Latin towns. Some were stronger than the rest, and would have leadership. A restless, turbulent, warlike folk were these rough rustics and hill people. Their master passion was mastery. To be dominant was the one unconquerable lust of this ancient stock.

Municipality the bottom principle in Roman organization.

Other peoples have loved and sung and gone to war. Others have conquered and extended their dominion, sweeping

THE NURSING WOLF OF SIENNI, IN TURIN.
Drawn by Giraldon, from a photograph.

down surrounding states and crushing them under the car of conquest. The motives have been various —spoil, the love of mere victory, cruel, slave-getting victory, the wearisomeness of the settled life regaining at intervals the wild freedom of original barbarism; but Rome from the beginning conquered *to be master*. She would rule. Her passion for dominion had in it, even from the primitive ages, a touch of rationality,

The Roman race would master for the sake of mastery.

a sort of political ulterior purpose, a covert wish to organize, to build.

The primacy among the Latin cities moved around. First one and then another was in the lead, had the headship.

SABINE WOMEN INTERPOSING IN THE BATTLE.—After the painting by David.

Rome as a village and town; the Sabine episode.

Finally Rome became a mere village, partly on the most defensible hill which was called the Capitoline, partly on the slope and down into the bottom between the first summit and the Aventine; simply a town. How founded, the legend tells us uncertainly; mixture of superlative fable with certain grains of fact, the fable predominating always, especially at the beginning. But the difference is naught. History begins in fable. Does not all reality start from a myth? Before the real land is the shadow land.

Perhaps there was a strife with the Sabines. Very probable would such an occurrence be there in the boisterous morning of things. Maybe the strong male Romans wanted more women to wife than their own clan could yield. Perhaps the Sabines would fight to recover their lost beauties with long-streaming hair, borne off savagewise on the shoulders of men more burly than themselves. All these things might have been. Many of them probably were; some certainly. The main thing is that the Roman

character began to grow and to become typical.

Out in the open country the Roman farmer sat down to his coarse fare. If he said grace, it had not yet reached up to Jove or downward to Pluto. What faith he had was near akin to idolatry at first. He had on his mantelpiece certain small figures. Originally they were effigies of his ancestors. Now they were his *Lares*, household gods, almost idols. Dimly behind them the sturdy rustic saw an undefinable spiritual fact, dim as yet in his vision. On the table was black bread, made of barleycorn, parched and pounded to coarse flour, baked in the ashes or rude oven; also beans and other pulse, coarsely cooked, but keenly relished by that strong appetite.

What things were spread for food in Latium.

Some fish was added. His neighbors near the coast had taken them from the sea or river mouth, and had exchanged them with the inland Roman for venison or pork or beef. It was a rude, meaty commerce, just beginning. The first Romans knew well how to capture game. Even Æneas on the African coast shot down the stags and tore the hide from their ribs, according to Vergil's song. In Italy, as we have said, the Italicans reared great cattle and slew them for food. They were also from the beginning eaters of swine. At a very early day they had already bred up *Sus scrofa* into an animal fit for food, and he was so much of a morsel that the coarse Roman saw in him something fit to be offered to the gods. Few primitive peoples have ventured to lay *pork* on the altar. The animal was greatly disparaged in the East, and even in the rough West was unable to derive from the imagination, or even the taste of man, any touch of possible sentiment.

ROMAN MAIDEN.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

There were wild fruits on the board; sweet chestnuts gathered from the hills; figs dried from last year's store or freshly ripe; olive oil in the earthen cruse not yet artistic in pattern; vegetables, as we have seen; wine to drink; a number of young Romans at the table side, and Roman maidens like Juno for strength; not delicate, but beautiful, demure, expecting to be matrons in their turn. The scene was not without dignity; a grave and not unvirtuous feast, indicative of longevity and vital force, and marked with a single ideal touch—a love of flowers. For even humble Romans, and from antiquity, adorned their tables with wreaths and garlands, not profusely and poetically as did the Greeks, but in a simple and natural way peculiar to themselves.—Such things were seen in Latium in the homes of men as early as the eighth century before our era.

Home scene of the primitive Romans.

Not much later the mineral resources of the country began to call out human enterprise. In the north were copper mines, leading to the manufacture of bronze. At what time the extraction of iron from the ore began we may not well determine; but in course of time the rich deposits of Elba became the source from which the iron wealth of

Beginnings of metallurgy and the building arts.

the Romans was mostly drawn. Building stone was abundant, and the stone mason was early abroad in the land. The Etruscans were the teachers of the building art, especially that massive work for which the primitive structures of Western Italy were noted. The rich deposits of marble, the white and beautiful products of the mines of Carrara and the alabaster of Tuscany had not yet attracted artistic workmen and suggested their higher achievements; but stone building began early and abounded in the Latin cities; and Rome was not behind the rest in planting herself firmly in the rock.

The Latin state found itself between two diverse national forces. On the north lay the Etruscans and the comparatively new Celtic race of the Veneti. On the south was the city land of Magna Græcia. One of the marked differences between the Greek and Latin races was the swift evolution of the former and the slow growth of the latter. In all parts where the Greeks fixed themselves there was an almost explosive expansion into conscious nationality; but the movement of the Italicans was slow, tedious, at times almost stationary.

Slow evolution of the Italicans; swiftness of the Greeks.

This radical difference in the two races must be borne in mind as an explanation of the earlier blossoming and fruit-bearing of Hellenic civilization around the Eastern Mediterranean. We have seen that the Latin race, or rather those primitive tribes which contained the potency of the Latin race, were the vanguard of the Græco-Italic Aryans on their invasion of peninsular Europe. We might have expected, therefore, from considerations *à priori* that the development of the Latini would have preceded that of the Greeks. It was the slow evolution of the former that prevented this result. We may suppose that the Latin Aryans had already settled into their seats before the Ionian Greeks had taken possession of Central Hellas; but the more rapid development of the latter brought them sooner into the foreground.

Meanwhile the Latini lagged in the west, while the Greeks grew great and flourished. One of the aspects of their vigorous expansion was the colonization of Southern Italy. They took possession as much as a thousand years B. C. of the whole peninsula below the latitude of Apulia and Campania. Here they planted some of the most enlightened and powerful cities of antiquity. Here sprang Tarentum, Sybaris, Crotona, Metapontum, Locri, Rhegium, and on the western coast the beautiful Greek towns of Cumæ and Neapolis. The country thus covered embraced the after provinces of Apulia, Calabria, Lucania, and Bruttium, indeed, the whole ankle, heel, and toe of Italy.

Spread of the Greek race in Southern Italy.

We have already seen how the intellectual light of the Greeks diffused itself to the extremes of their migrations. Wherever a Greek city was planted the brilliancy of the home country was at once displayed. It was the same warmth and enthusiasm which had been at first kindled in Hellas that were thus borne abroad to foreign parts. This is to say that the intellectual classes of the Greeks in the home country sought by adventure in distant lands to satisfy ambitions and activities which were cramped in the narrow borders of the Hellenic states.

Diffusion abroad of the civilization of the Greeks.

But the literature and art of the Greek race were one, and were always referred to the home country. The Greek thinkers, philosophers, sages, and poets of foreign lands were glad to be reckoned

with their ancestry, and to throw their contributions into the common treasure of Greek glory. Plato himself was a resident for some time in Magna Græcia; but no one thinks of referring his philosophy to this local origin. On the contrary, he was a Hellene of the Hellenes. Whether in Italy, in Africa, in Macedonia, or in Western Asia, the Greek was a Greek.

Integrity of the race wherever distributed.

Thus, before the beginning of the prodigious growth of Rome, Greek civilization was prevalent in the south of Italy. Nor should it be forgotten that while the Latin race was thus pressed by two great forces, one above and the other below, it was on the east encircled and bordered by those Sabellian nations of whom the Samnites were the most formidable. The student of history will readily recall for how long a time and in how dubious a contest the Romans contended with the latter peoples for domination. The struggle with Samnium might be reckoned as the second stage in the progress of the Roman race, the first stage being the conquest and mastery of the cities of the Latin league.

War with Samnium the second stage of Roman development.

ROMAN SOLDIERS IN COMBAT.—From the Column of Trajan, Rome.

If we look at the nature of the pressure on the two sides of Latium, we shall find that on one side it was an impact of culture and on the other the impact of violence. It was art on one side and war on the other. From the side of Magna Græcia came the elements of

The ethnic impact on the two sides of Latium.

early intellectual development. Letters were introduced, and the forms of the rough vernacular language were brought into regularity. But we must not understand that the Romans yielded easily to the liking of the strong and self-willed Latins. On that side war came up in fierce gusts perpetually renewed. The very Tiber banks on the right hand margin were a dangerous frontier. The

OLD ROMAN TYPES—TARQUIN AND THE SIBYL.

to these influences which permeated the state from the south. The stock was stubborn, obdurate, indisposed by nature to culture and refinements, merely imitative in so far as it yielded at all.

The pressure on the north was more Etruscan cities in that direction were hostile and strong. Conflicts broke out fiercely, which were checked rather than quieted. Veii was the head of this offending. Considered in a larger sense,

Race struggle of the Romans and the Etruscans.

it was the struggle of the Etruscans to maintain their ascendency in Central Italy and of the Romans to gain the tinction. The case was absolute, and there was no middle ground.

It is worth while to note one or two

BRENNUS WITH THE GAULS IN ROME.

leadership. From first to last such a conflict on the side of Rome meant the subjection of the enemy or her own ex- cases of extremity, not that we are here considering events as such, but looking rather at the development of a

great race. More than once Rome was brought to the brink; more than once she was hair-hung over an abyss that had no bottom. Old Lars Porsena, King of Clusium, which had become the stronghold of Etruria after the decadence of Veii—also the refuge of the traitorous Tarquin—bore down in war on primitive Rome city and took her by the throat. Great is the difference in the conduct of early communities when they are so throttled. Sometimes there is merely an expiring gasp; sometimes a brief struggle and then death; and sometimes there is the writhing and twisting of a tremendous wiry giant that will not be strangled, until presently he tires the very fingers of his foe and with the first relaxation flings him off in disdain.

Hard straits of the Romans; contest with the Gauls.

It may require stratagem, even perfidy, to loosen the hold of the foreign hand; but the Latin state was capable of both. The foe was thrust back across the Tiber and Rome breathed. Woe to that Etruscan enemy when he in like fashion shall feel the Roman clutch at *his* throat! That iron hand never relaxes until the writhing of the antagonist ceases and his form is still in death. More dreadful still was the apparition of the Gauls. They cross the Tiber. They penetrate the walls. They climb the Capitol Hill. The Latin antagonist is certainly down this time forever. He who witnesses the struggle of gladiators in the sand of the arena sees first one and then the other above the body of his enemy. They whirl and turn and rise and fall. But with the final thrust it is the Gaul that staggers back and is gone. The danger was sufficient; but the combatant is stronger for the peril and more active for the contest.

War was the common mood of the states of antiquity; but never was an incipient kingdom so toughened and strained and hardened by warfare as was old Latium. In this there was, first of all, the instinctive force and disposition of the race; and, secondly, the suggestions of the environment. As to instinct, it can not be doubted that the Latini were warriors by preference. They had the aggressive passion, and the early growth of patriotism among the Roman people made them exceedingly fierce in resistance. The intensity of domestic life was equaled by the intensity of patriotic devotion to the state. The old Roman was not as was the Greek—a philosopher; but he *felt* the strong forces which bind mankind to local habitations, to particular districts as their own. There was thus a native passion in the Roman race for holding its territorial seat, and at the same time a domineering ambition to reach out by conquest into surrounding kingdoms.

Spirit of war intensified by ethnic disposition.

But more powerful than even these subjective moods of the Romans was the force of the environment. Rome was central to Latium; Latium was central to Italy; Italy was central to the Mediterranean countries; and these were the world. One need only to glance at the map to see the striking position of Italy. It is the dominant geographical fact in Southern Europe. Neither Greece nor Spain is situated for the mastery of the Mediterranean. Italy is so placed by nature. When to this we add the fertility and natural resources of the country, its salubrious climate, its general attractiveness as a home of men, we perceive at a glance the original conditions that not only suggested but made necessary the evolution of a stock

Influences of environment on Roman character.

and state like the Roman. There was a preponderance of physical advantages with the Latini from the start, and when to this we add the native instincts of the race we find sufficient reason for the empire which the ages will establish with its center on yonder Seven Hills.

Considering the general destiny of Rome, of the great race which displayed its activities from this center, we may well regard the paucity of harbors on the coast, the absence of the seafaring spirit, and the slow commercial movements of the Latins of the primitive ages as so many positive benefits to the race. The nonexistence in Italy of the facts here referred to gave opportunity for the principle of *residence*—of fixedness in a certain locality, of attachment to that locality as native land—to work out its strongest and most complete results. The commercial spirit among nations is not favorable to patriotism. In its exaggerated forms and tempers it is not even consistent with patriotism. Consider the nature of commerce, and its international character will readily be discovered. All seafaring tends to the obliteration of local attachments. They who ply the commerce between distant cities, the deep sea intervening, tarry a while in one port and a while in the other. In course of time the two extremes of the voyage are alike. The two languages spoken at the extremes become equally familiar to the ear and tongue of the sea merchant who voyages between. Moreover, the interfusion of products brought from all lands into a common mart tends to weaken the special affections of the consumer for these things which he has gathered from his own garden or orchard, from his own rivers, his own forest, his own sheepfold. The intensity of all local attachments is greatly abated, and the enthusiasm for *Patria*, for native land, for birthplace and home, subsides into apathy and indifference.

Want of harbors tends to intensify national spirit.

In primitive Rome none of the commercial and cosmopolitan forces were present. For centuries after the planting of the Latin state foreign intercourse was virtually unknown. The very kinship with another nation, even with the Greeks, was forgotten. There was neither suggestion nor desire to cultivate affinities with other peoples. The spirit of residence became intense in the last degree, and the preference

ROMAN MATRON.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

Absence of commercial and cosmopolitan influences.

called patriotism grew into a fiery passion seven times heated.

In the early history of the Roman race we miss especially any such event as the Trojan War. The very causes which, according to the legend, led to that early foreign drama did not exist—could not have existed—among the Romans. If Helen had been a Roman matron, vain would have been the temptations of both gods and men! Not she would have gone abroad with a stranger on any tour of license. She was a home lady whose lord sufficed for all her ambitions and affections. The spirit of the race was totally averse to that species of extravagant adventure and dramatic exploit which so well accorded with the temper of the Greeks. The result was that the primitive character of the Roman was prosaic, practical, saturnine.

There was no bluster of enterprise about the man of Latium. Even his love was matter of fact. His hatred was business. All of his activities and passions were circular, concentric around a domicile where the matron and the young Romans, his offspring, had their abode. In such a situation there could be no epic poetry. Mark the extreme difference in those highest intellectual products of the race, the heroic songs of the Greeks and the Romans. Homer is a man of the dawn. He is almost contemporaneous, so it would seem, with the events described in his epos. The intellectual exhilaration of the East was so great that the *Iliad* enacted did not long precede the *Iliad* sung. But in Italy how different is the situation! Vergil is the man of the empire. He is distant by more than a thousand years from the life and manners, the traditions and heroic actions of his poem. He is the court poet of Augustus, singing the deeds of the founders of his race. He could not have arisen on the borders of the age of Æneas, could not have flourished while the memory of Romulus and Remus was still quick in the minds of men. Had primitive Rome been subject to such agitations as was Hellas in the dawn, could she have been, even by her constitution and habit and situation, susceptible to those tremendous excitements and passions which roused to consciousness the soul of the Greek race, then indeed might Vergil have risen in the morning, and the *Æneid* have been even as the *Iliad*.

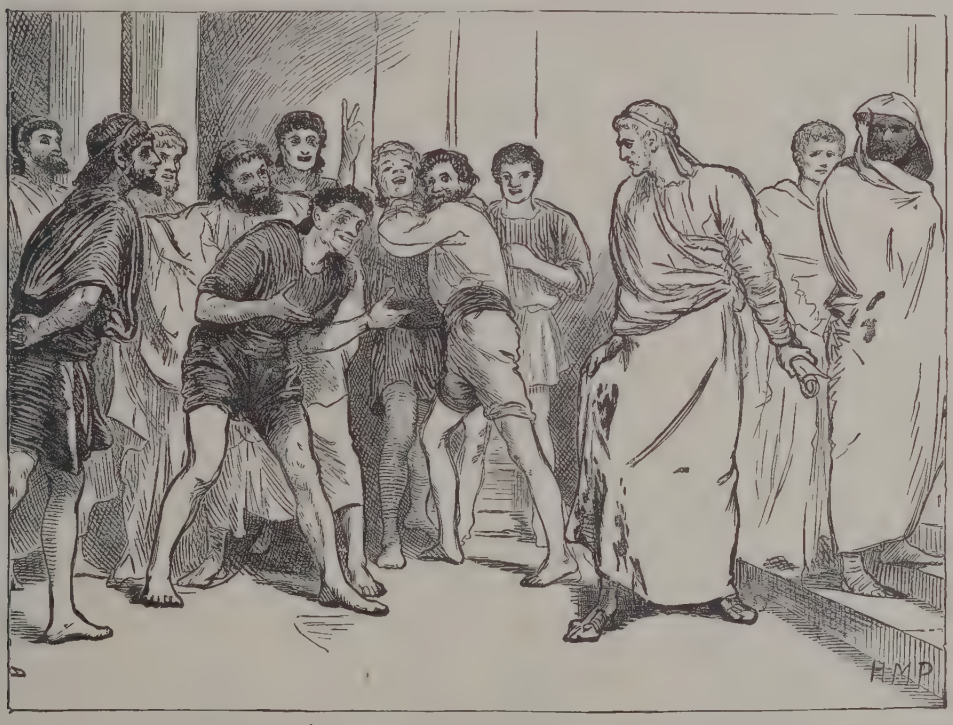
Contrasted conditions of the Greek and Latin epics.

VERGIL.
Drawn by H. Wolff.

We have been considering in these pages the sources of supply, real and ideal, from which the genius of Rome drew its sustenance and life. Food is not all taken from the earth. It is not

The immaterial food-supply of races.

all material aliment gotten from the ground and from the bodies of animals. On the contrary, there is a nutriment which is derived from the air, from the environment, from the invisible nature of things, from the world unseen. As it is with the individual man, so it is with the individual people, the race. Man feeds upon conditions as well as upon rye bread and fish. He assimilates only from the spring branch, the hollow trunks filled with wild honey, the abundance of the native fig tree, and the fat of the body of the stag, does the early community of men take its sustenance, but also from the form and fashion of things, the reflex actions of nature and history, the counter facts of situation, and the deep currents of invisible seas and continents.



PRIMITIVE GRÆCO-ROMAN TYPES.—Posthumius in the Theater at Tarentum.

forces as well as rice. He makes bone and blood out of circumstances as much as from sugar cane and the fiber of beef. A race also, especially in the morning of its power, in its time of strong appetite and youthful, sound slumber and unimpaired digestion, draws in from all natural aspects and conditions, from its correlations with other races, and from the still stronger mysteries of ethnic instinct, its nutriment and drink. Not

Simplicity of conditions produces simplicity of character.

From the absence of complexity in the producing forces the Roman character took a simpler form than that of the Greek. It is more easily apprehended, having less variety, greater singleness. As to physical force, the Roman furnishes the most striking example of the ancient world. Only the Assyrian could compete with him in the robustness and muscular strength of his body. In

the primitive ages he took no pains to make himself an athlete, or to give symmetry and agility to his frame by the discipline of training. On the contrary, he neglected all artificial means of physical development, using only the natural means. The natural means was sufficient to make him a soldier, and afterwards a statesman.

There was little that was ornate in the sturdy and iron-muscled man whom we here see appearing on the Tiber hills and the Campanian frontier. The old Roman was debonyair in nothing. He cared not to be witty. He was little affected by beauty. He would rather eat than to talk—rather trim a fig tree than write a poem about it. He preferred production and mere business to any decorative processes as it respected himself or his city. We should look in vain among these Roman folk for that sociability and effusiveness which distinguished the Greeks of the same age; and among the latter—moving by quick impulse—we should look in vain for that austerity and masculine force which constituted the predominant elements in the character of the former.

Sternness of primitive Romans; lack of sociability.

CHAPTER LVIII.—SOCIAL ESTATE OF THE ROMANS.

BUT we must now pass from the consideration of these bottom facts in Roman life to examine briefly the social structure of which the man of Latium was the masterpiece. At the first he found himself a member of a womanless society, whose chief business was robbery. If it had not been womanless, the robber characteristic would have been less pronounced. One of the errors against which the student of history must always be on his guard is the giving of the modern meaning to words expressive of the conditions of the primitive world. He must remember that to have been a robber in early Latium was to be a good citizen. In this, as in all things else, the law enters that sin may abound. This is to say that in an age before property rights are recognized and expressed in the forms of law, robbery is merely the taking of the objects of desire, and the act is devoid of that criminal character which condemns it in well developed societies. The beginning of all states is violence. History knows no other origin for the improved condition of mankind than sheer force. At length the rectifying processes of morality set in, and violence gives place to established customs, to law. Old Rome simply struggled out of barbarism by taking from others like herself the resources which were necessary for her sustenance and growth. Of a certainty, the methods were violent; but they were also necessary.

Roman society began in violence and rapacity.

As we have said, the Western surf of mankind, tumbling on distant shores, has always a great preponderance of male-life. We discover this condition in Latium, and legend has preserved the not wholly improbable story of how the deficit of womanhood was first supplied. The *Æneid* furnishes no good picture of the woman of primitive Rome. It is the pictured page of Livy, so far as writings are concerned, from which we may best deduce

Relation of character to preponderance of sex in society.

a true outline of the female character in the primitive age. There is a strange correlation between the domestic morality and the chance preponderance of women and men in human societies; that is to say, of societies in the primal stages of their development. It might be supposed that in tribes where men are largely in excess there would be great violence done to the purer sexual in-

ROMAN TYPE, PRESERVED IN WOMAN OF UFFIZI.
Drawn by Faquier, from an ancient engraving.

stincts; that there would be virtually a reign of force along every frontier where the population is mostly composed of men. The counter supposition would also seem to hold; that is, that in societies where women are largely preponderant in numbers the purer and more delicate instincts of sex would prevail, to the extinction, perhaps, of all infractions of the better laws of life and action between men and women.

Neither of these hypotheses is verified by the facts; but exactly the reverse. It is along the edges of the progressive movements of population, far on the outskirts, that the highest virtues of sex are engendered and maintained. The chivalrous and exalted sentiment of man for woman, which has such an urgent force in the evolution of a pure society, blossoms in full beauty among those rough and stalwart communities that tumble tumultuously on the edges and confines of states.

The frontier with excess of males has highest sentiment.

Even in the New World we have seen this law constantly illustrated with the progress of the White races across the continent. It will, perhaps, be denied that the frontier always expresses the highest opinion of woman. It will be claimed that the chivalrous instincts which the stronger experiences for the weaker creature have been well preserved in the older communities of America. But the denial and the claim may not be allowed. The fact is that in America, as in Europe and everywhere, the adoration of woman has been at its height with the advancing wave. Under the blue shekinah of the cabin smoke in all the Western valleys she has been worshiped; and it is the truth of history that among the rude, boisterous, quarrelsome, and lawless Californians who opened the Sierra gold mines at the middle of the century the name and the recollection of woman were divine. It was so among the hardy and reckless pioneers of primitive Italy; and we may easily discover the reasons why the sexual relation under these circumstances had a strength and permanence which it had never before attained in antiquity.

Illustration of the law in the social conditions of America.

We come, then, to consider those conditions and phenomena in the primitive society of Rome which were based on the relation of the sexes. The preponderance of the domestic life in the Roman race is well known. It is a fact which has been remarked by all writers since the beginning of critical inquiry in

Rude virtues of the primitive society of Rome.

Europe, and it has not ceased to attract the attention and admiration of mankind everywhere. It is now twenty-six and a half centuries since the founding of the city, but the social institutions of the Romans, those institutions which they left on their own decline to the care of literature and the hands of the Catholic Church, and which, by the latter have been disseminated among all

ROMAN MARRIED PAIR—TYPES.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

Western peoples, still abide with little diminution of strength. It was in Italy that man could first truthfully say, *Ego sum domi*—"I am at *Home*." The fact called Home had its first existence in the country between the Apennines and the Tyrrhenian sea. Here it was that the difference between a man's *house* and his *home* was first recognized. The Oriental nations knew it not. Shem had not found it. Ham had not discovered it in Arabia or Africa. The brilliant Greeks had had no more than a glimpse of the possibility. In the earlier ages, as we have seen, the expanding germ of a beautiful private life was set in Hellas; but with the growth of politics and the creation of civil institutions woman lapsed, and the domestic tree withered and died.

Evolution of home and institution of family.

It may seem strange that in a country whose first great city was founded by the twin sons of Mars and a Vestal virgin—in a country whose first wives were taken by treachery and outrage from a friendly neighboring people—the first actual home known to men should be created; but the fact remains. We have seen in a former book that the house-building and home-making instinct was inherent in all the Aryans. The history of Europe and America is a running commentary on the workings of this instinct; but it was in Italy, in the Roman state, that the sentiment long prevalent in the race first became an objective reality, taking the form of an institution.

The institution was the family. As to the origin and nature of the family a vast deal has been said in exposition and controversy. The fact is that it was created by the Roman race. By that race it was borne north, east, and west to the confines of the existing civilizations. It was planted among the conquered peoples. It was impressed as a fundamental fact upon the Church of Rome. It became, in the hands of that Church, an article of faith and an instrument of propagandism. Before the downfall of the empire it had taken so

deep root in the structure of Europe as to constitute henceforth the bottom fact in civil society, and that relation it has ever since retained.

Semitic peoples not the originators of home ideas.

It has been claimed by many writers that the home principle and the family as its result were given to history by the Semitic nations. The assertion is totally incorrect. The Semites held, in common with the other Orientals, to the Eastern manner. There was not a single branch of the race in which polygamy was not the prevalent system. Aramæans, Elamites, Hebrews, Assyrians, Arabs, all held to the clan or patriarchical form of organization, and the multiple marriage of the man was the dominant custom among them everywhere.

Home and monogamy a culmination of West Aryanism.

With the progress of the Aryan race across Europe from the East the Oriental usage gave way. We are able to discover something of the causes of the new order of things in Greece and Italy. In the latter country the old conditions had been so far left behind as to permit the institution of a new order. That new order was a complete system of domesticity revolving about a home founded on the monogamic relation and resulting in the great fact called the family. In outlining this change from the Eastern to the Western form of society we are again in danger of drawing the sketch with too much exactitude. It must not be understood that sexual lawlessness and license disappeared in Italy, and that a new ideal state arose instead of polygamous marriage and clan organization. It is only meant that a true domestic form, capable of becoming institutional and permanent, here took the place of the ancient Oriental development of society, and that the home, as that word has been understood among the Western nations, first appeared in the country and under the conditions which we are here considering.

The three terraces of the Roman social structure.

The social foundation of the Roman race was a terrace of three platforms. The lowest and broadest of these was the *gens*. What the gens is in ethnography we have already explained in another part. It is a natural phenomenon, and was not by any means peculiar to the structure of the Roman race. On top of the gens was laid the *Familia*, or that division of the gens which embraced the group of kinsmen who bore a common name—that *added* name which we will presently explain. The third stone in the social platform was the *Individual;* and he also was designated by a term; but in this instance the term was peculiar to himself, discriminating him from all other members of the familia. To the lowest platform was given a definitive epithet called the *Nomen* of the gens. The second layer was designated by the *Cognomen*, or family name; while to the third platform, representing the individual, was given the *Prænomen*, or individual name. The gens constituted a part of civil society, but the familia was purely a social phenomenon. It was in the familia that the evolution peculiar to Roman society took place. It was the relations of the familia on the one side to the semipolitical organization of the gens, and on the other to the individual member of society, that constituted the element of unity and strength through the whole structure of Rome.

We are here to consider the familia. First of all, and essentially, it was a family in the identical sense in which that word is used among modern nations.

Source and development of the Roman familia.

The family was the core of the familia. There were very few features in which the Roman family, or central part of the familia, was different from the corresponding fact in all of the nations which have adopted the Roman law as a part of their system of jurisprudence. In process of time the family drew to itself quite a retinue of folks that have no representatives, at least in the democratic countries of modern times. In monarchical and aristocratical societies, as for instance in a country where a peerage exists, we have a dependent retinue associated with a noble family and constituting a phenomenon quite similar to the familia of the Romans.

The family proper; fact and manner of courtship.

For the present this added element, this dependent part, may be omitted that we may consider the Roman family, or household proper, so called. In this monogamy was the law. The bottom principle was single marriage, generally dictated by the affection of the parties.

INTERCOURSE OF THE SEXES.—Scene Between Cæsar and Octavia.

Prudential and political marriages became in course of time common facts in Rome, but they were never the prevalent order. In the times of the republic, could we look down from the somewhat elevated platform of history to so common and universal a fact as courtship between the sexes, we should find it to have been in Rome essentially such a process as to its forms and sentiments

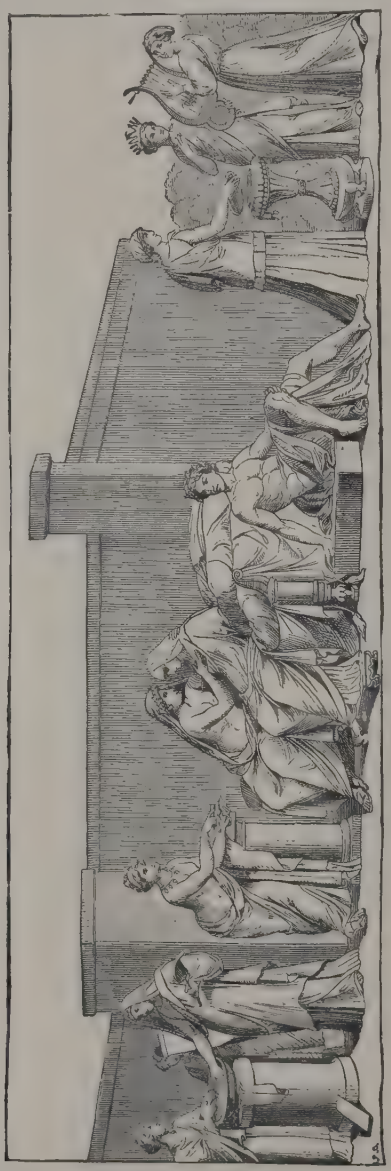
as we behold in the communities of the present day. The young men of Rome and the Roman maidens made love to each other after the manner of rational beings. They sought and won each other's affections, and in a great majority of instances the attachment was sincere and enduring. Perhaps we might look in vain for the refinements of sentiment which have prevailed since chivalry and knighthood gave their impulse to European society; but the Roman courtship was not devoid of sentiment. The schoolboys and girls of the republic wrote significant things to each other in the wax of their tablets, and the answering blush told plainly that the thing said was understood and appreciated.

In Roman society the sexes were, in many respects, on terms of equality, and there was much honorable freedom of intercourse. In one respect the girls were disparaged as compared with their brothers and lovers. That is, they were denied the prænomen, or individual name. They were given the nomen of their gens, and *were then numbered*, Prima, Secunda, Tertia, etc., according to seniority. That is, the daughters of Marcus Antonius would be called Antonia *Prima*, Antonia *Secunda*,

Disparagement of girls in the matter of the prænomen.

ROMAN SOCIETY.—The House Philosopher.—Drawn by W. Friedrich.

and so on to the youngest. The sons would be given each a prænomen, or individual name, Marcus, Caius, Sempro-



MARRIAGE.—ALDOBRANDINI WEDDING.—Drawn by P. Beckett.

nius. Thus much of the ancient discrimination of the East against womankind was preserved even in the state of Rome.

We have remarked upon the freedom of woman from her girlhood as one of the elementary conditions of Roman society. The Roman maiden went freely from her house on visits to her friends, to school, or into the streets if she chose. From the primitive times she was taught the beauty and dignity of sexual honor. Here was the kernel of the whole matter. Here was that bottom fact out of which the domestic and home life of the Roman race grew to so great perfection. The maiden of Rome, and her lover as well, were taught from childhood the sacredness of sex; and owing to the instinctive susceptibility of the race in this regard the lesson struck home and became a part of character.

Roman girls taught to regard virtue as the supreme thing.

The young people of Roman families intermixed with each other, constituting a "society" in almost the modern sense of the term. There were circles of friendship formed on the principal of free selection. Over it all the stern parents retained their prerogatives, but at the same time conceded a large liberty. The opportunity of social intercourse between the sexes was not much abridged by the authority of the father and mother. The young people sought and found each other's company and became acquainted in almost the identical manner of modern times. Courtship was much the same then as in the Europe or America of to-day.

Comparative freedom of the sexes in social intercourse.

The Roman lover and his sweetheart were permitted to walk together in public. It was expected that each would wear the newest and best garments which could be afforded. In public places, as at the circus and the theater, the youth sought the upper seats by preference, from which they might look down upon the scene. Such assemblages furnished many

Rules of gallantry as outlined by Ovid.

opportunities for gallantry. The overwarm Ovid, of a later age, gives some half-humorous but not indelicate directions to the lover as to how he shall advance his cause when he sits by his lady in public. "Take thy seat," says the poet, "beside the fair one, as close to her as thou canst, for which the stretched cord[1] gives thee an excuse; then begin a familiar conversation, for which the play affords an easy opening; applaud whenever she applauds; take care that she is not incommoded by the knees of those who sit behind her; arrange her cushion; take up her mantle if it falls; place the stool under her delicate feet, and fan her if she be too warm." Nothing improper is seen in all this. The little drama is natural enough. It might answer, without modification, for a scene in a Parisian opera house or at a country festival in America.

Rule of early marriages; simplicity of the union.

The period of youth was brief in primitive Rome; particularly brief with the maidens. They were marriageable at the age of twelve, and it was thought that to be single after seventeen was to have been neglected. In so far as the parents of the lovers determined the business of marriage, they generally followed, as we have said, the well-known preferences which the young folk had shown for each other. In the earlier times and among the rustic population the marriage was exceedingly informal. Indeed, there were many conditions under which it had no form at all, the parties simply becoming husband and wife because they would. Out of this natural selection, which was presently recognized as valid by the common law, the institution of marriage took shape, and was afterwards decorated with ceremonies; but it was never painfully smothered under the flummeries of the East. The main fact always stood forth. The union of the parties was the principal thing to which the officialities were subordinated.

HOME MANNERS.—Romans at the Table.—From the painting by Alma Tadema.

When Roman society had become reg-

[1] The "stretched cord" was the only division between one seat and the next in the sitting circles of the public buildings of Rome.

ulated in its methods, the wedding was an occasion of feasting and hilarity. The parents of the bride, according to their abundance, provided supplies of clothing, jewelry, and furniture as their daughter's dowry, and the parents of the bridegroom did even so for him. The two homes of the parties were decorated for the wedding, and the relatives were invited to witness the ceremony. Green boughs were plucked down to adorn the inner walls, and if the house had become ambitious to the extent of columns, they were wreathed with garlands. The ancestral effigies were brought out, as if to look down upon the means this day repeated for the perpetuation of their race. The bride was adorned by the mother. The headdress was according to the old-time custom. The white toga was tastefully folded about the majestic form and a scarlet veil fastened in the hair. The pair to be wedded were led to the altar by a woman called the *pronuba*, whose office it was to conduct the ceremony. A sacrifice was offered, and the wedding was completed with a banquet.

Formalities of the wedding day; the pronuba.

Afterwards the pair were conducted, with music of flutes and the singing of gay songs, to the bridegroom's home, already prepared for their reception. On reaching the door the bride must anoint the lintels at the entrance with perfumed oil. She must also twist woolen fillets around them. And when these little offices are attended to, she must herself be carefully *lifted* over the threshold; for a delicate superstition declares that for her to stumble on entering her home is an evil omen. So she is borne into the house by the attendants.

Bridal procession, and fiction of the new home.

As the Roman state became great and strong; as the society of Rome parted into castes; as the commons became plebeians and the patricians arrogated to themselves the prerogatives and responsibilities of the government, the wedding ceremonies among the latter departed from the simple type and became a somewhat elaborate religious process at which ten witnesses must be present to hear the vows of the parties, to witness the signing of the contract, and to record their personal testimony of the event. It is in evidence that in proportion as the primitive purity of the institution gave place to such formality, the fidelity of the parties became less conspicuous, and in the times of imperial luxury it could no longer be boasted —as it had been in the simple ages of the republic—that for five hundred years Roman society had not been scandalized with a single divorce. Already, however, in the last century of the republican régime the old and tenacious bond had been dissolved into laxity, and both Cato and Cicero repudiated their wives and took others on the score of personal advantage.

Deterioration of the marriage estate under the empire.

Among the patricians the demoralization went steadily on until the old landmarks were totally obliterated and license and caprice set in. Still, the monogamic principle held sway, and in the midst of innumerable marriages, repudiations, and divorces the *principle* of single marriage was maintained in its integrity. Disgrace came in like a flood upon the domestic life of the Roman people, and that which had been the simplest and purest society ever thus far developed among men grew into a society of almost absolute license. We speak here of the sanctity and purity of the marriage estate. This at length came to be broken with impunity. Men

Divorce made easy by corruption of Roman society.

put away their wives at will, for all reasons and no reason at all. Hardly a whim was needed to excuse the perpetually recurring separations of husband and wife. Every caprice of fancy, every suggestion of interest came in as a selfish justification for the breaking of the marriage relation. In the early years of the empire the tie of husband and wife was so easily snapped that even a woman might break it when she would. A case is recorded in which one lady had eight husbands, all legally enough, within a period of five years. Another continued her separations until her list of husbands had reached *twenty-three*, and it was found that the last of the list had himself had twenty-one legal wives! No more forcible comment could be offered upon the civil and political condition of the Roman state than the citation of this shocking falling away of the institution of marriage under the empire.

PATRICIAN DOMESTIC LIFE.—Toilet of a Roman Lady of Rank.—Drawn by A. de Courten.

In one respect the old law and principle of the Orient continued to prevail among the Romans. The wife in the earliest epochs was completely subject to the husband. This is said especially of the marriage relation among the pa-

tricians. A patrician's wife was virtually his property. He had unlimited power over her, extending even to the *jus vitæ necisque*—the right of life and death. This was the ancient theory of formal patrician marriage. In process of time, under the wholesome sentiments of the Latin race—we speak of the Old Latins—the principle was abandoned, at least in practice, and the Roman matron gained a legal recognition of her rights. She was conceded at first the right of property and afterwards the right of her person in exemption from her husband's control. She obtained the right to inherit from her parents and to hold her goods apart from her husband's. The marriage portion which came with her was her husbands, always and absolutely.

Rights of the married women of Rome.

In the later age of the republic this emancipation of woman had gone on so far that a reäction set in, and a strenuous effort was made, even under the leadership of Cato, to force the women of Rome back again under the authority of their husbands. Cato, as a politician, had yet to learn that primal law of history, that in the evolution of mankind, men, institutions, social phenomena, *never go back into their old condition*. As well might the effort be made to compel a watch—if such thing is thinkable—to run backwards and to record an inverted calendar of the hours as to attempt to reverse the forward movements of the human race.

Effort of later republicans to restore the former estate.

VIRTUES OF THE ROMAN WOMAN.—Virginia in the Forum.

Under the social condition above described, woman in the early ages of Rome took on a character for modesty and virtue without a parallel in any other primitive race. We need not accept as true the inspiring traditions which the Romans themselves have preserved of

Heroic character of the primitive Roman women.

the heroism of their wives and daughters in the early ages; that is, we need not believe that such examples of unsullied beauty and virtue were actually witnessed in the primitive days in Latium; but we must accept the sentiments expressed in the traditions, and the sentiments are as good as the facts. No ancient story-teller or bard invents a fiction which is absurd in the estimation of those to whom he recites it. On the contrary, the primitive legend or poem is a transcript of the things accepted and admired as true. We are thus brought to the conclusion that the heroism and beauty and spotless deaths of Virginia and Lucretia were real. It may be that the actual villainy of the Tarquin and Appius Claudius was drawn for the occasion; but the ideals exist. The ideals at least were real. They were in the Roman race as a part of its constitution. The ideals were applauded as the noblest and purest expressions of primitive womanhood. We know thus much in any event, that such women as Virginia, who was slain by her father, and Lucretia, who took her own life to save her honor, were possible in that ancient society—not only possible, but probable; for the Romans believed in them, fought for them, poured out their blood for them like water, worshiped their memory.

Derivation of the high character of maid and matron.

The student of history will be perplexed to know from what source such high and beautiful types of female character could be deduced in an age so boisterous and rough close on the confines of the prehistoric days. He must remember this—a thing already explained above—that Greek civilization had permeated Southern Italy; that beautiful cities and polite arts were known in all the country south of Latium and around on the western coast of Campania long before the times of which we are speaking. He must remember that the culture and learning of the Greeks had penetrated Latium, that the Greeks had become already the schoolmasters of the Latini and afterwards of the Romans; that the Latin towns accepted this foreign intellectual fact, and that even in the countryside schools were instituted at an early age. The women of primitive Rome received nearly the same instruction as did their husbands and brothers; and this form of culture in the school and the home blended with the robust virtue—we speak now of domestic virtue—tending to form those beautiful types of womanhood which we discover in the remote horizon of ancient Rome.

It should be remarked respecting the Roman women that their occasional appearance in primitive history is nearly always in connection with some crisis in the state. The woman shared with the man that intense patriotism of which we have spoken above. She was keenly alive to the vicissitudes of her country; for the destinies of her home and her family were involved with the fate of her country. So in times of emergency the highest spirits would come forth for the inspiration of the helmeted warriors who stood between Rome and her foes. Nearly every apparition of the Roman woman in the early ages is under some such circumstance of distress, and one need only open Livy to note the salvation which she nearly always brought.

The women of Rome called forth by civil dangers.

There is a sense in which the woman was the guardian angel of the ancient state. Even in the case of the struggle of the Romans and Sabines, the one for the retention and the other for the recovery of the stolen virgins, the latter become the mediators and peacemakers between

Salutary influence of the women in controlling violence.

the contending tribes. The mother of Coriolanus saves the city and loses her son. If Tarpeia proves recreant to the faith and honor of her country, she receives the merited punishment, is crushed under the weight of the Sabine shields, and her memory made infamous by the giving of her name to the Traitors' Rock. Sometimes we see the struggle between patriotism and love in the breast of woman. The three Horatii go forth to save their country. Two of them are slain, and the third returns victorious. His sister, Horatia, upbraids him for having killed her lover, one of the Curiatii. It is more than he can stand. Had he not defended his country? and should mere human love, his sister's whim, stand between him and his duty to native land? *Her* reasoning extends only thus far: Curiatius was my lover, honorable and true. My wicked brother has gone forth beyond the Tiber and killed my lover. I hate him for this hateful deed. We can see the inevitable result: Horatius, hot from his fight with his enemy, slays his sister on the spot.

SPIRIT OF THE ROMANS.—DEATH OF CORIOLANUS.

And the sequel still further illustrates the condition of that old society. Horatius is brought to trial for his rash deed and is condemned to death. So says the sober judgment of the senate and the court. But he has the right of an appeal to the people. He makes the appeal and

How Horatius is both condemned and acquitted.

is exculpated. For the father, the old Horatius, appears on the scene and declares that if his son had not slain his sister for her weakness and perfidy he would have done it himself! Mark well that half-savage society. It is still violent from its recent emergence. Indeed, it will never be other than violent, even at its best estate. But it has in it

MONUMENT TO THE HORATII AND THE CURIATII.

such strength and virtues as we should hardly find elsewhere in the ancient world.

A struggle like that in the breast of Horatia—the conflict between that fidelity which would save and that patriotism which must destroy the household idols—is present many times in the later womanhood of the republic. Cornelia is the daughter of Scipio Africanus. She

Examples of heroic devotion among Roman women.

could not do other than love her country. Her oldest son goes forth to espouse the cause of the suffering common people and loses his life. She gives him up as a sacrifice. Then the other goes forth, greater and stronger and more prudent than the elder; but she knows well that his life is imperiled in the cause. Shall she command him, exhort him, to desist? Shall she lose her all and be left to irremediable widowhood, she, the daughter of Scipio? This is her letter to her last son. In it we discover the terrible conflict in the mother's heart: "Is there to be no end of the madness in our house? What is the limit to be? Have we not cause enough for shame that we have plunged the state into confusion? To me nothing seems nobler and fairer than to take vengeance on an enemy when

this can be done without bringing ruin on our own country. But when this can not be, then far better that our enemies triumph than that our country suffer."

If we could rightly grieve over the movements of history, if we could feel rational sorrow over that great scheme of human affairs in accordance with which the drama of this world has been so tragically enacted, if it were right reason to wish that the affairs of men and nations in times past had been other than they were, then, indeed, we might be pained—feel anguish even to tears—over the decadence of human society in the last century of the Roman republic and the first century of the empire. Rome had passed through the stages of freedom and glory, and had come to the stage of luxury and license and animality. As we have hinted above, the transformation which we here contemplate was essentially social. The political and civil and historical falling away of the Roman state followed hard upon the falling away of those ancient robust virtues from which the renown and strength of the race had been derived.

Natural grief for the decadence of Roman society.

Having the nature of a social change, the domestic part of Roman life felt first the pang of transformation. This is to say that the beginning of the fall, the germ of it, was very near the life of woman. Her character as the conservator of virtue and mother of patriotism lapsed. As a rule, the Roman woman was borne along on the tide of the political changes which had set in in the later republic. The stream flowed from the Erie of broad and placid republicanism to the Ontario of imperialism; and the course was by way of the rapids and the cataract.

Woman carried down by the tide of political depravity.

With the approach of the Cæsarian revolution the domestic integrity of the Roman people gave completely away. It should be noted with admiration that for a considerable period the great women of the last days before the catastrophe were an impediment in the course of ruin. Julia was the sister of Cæsar and the wife of Pompey. She was a mediator between them, and while she lived the two rivals for the dominion of the world could hardly use their swords across her majestic body. Her influence was the cement of the first triumvirate, just as Octavia, sister of Augustus, was presently destined to hold together that second three whose break-up marked the ascendency of the one—the Cæsar. For Octavia was the wife of Antony, and until she was cast off by that reckless reveler she was able, by holding the hands of her husband and her brother, to keep the precarious peace. After this we catch a glimpse of certain republican women who, like their husbands and political friends, would fain have stayed

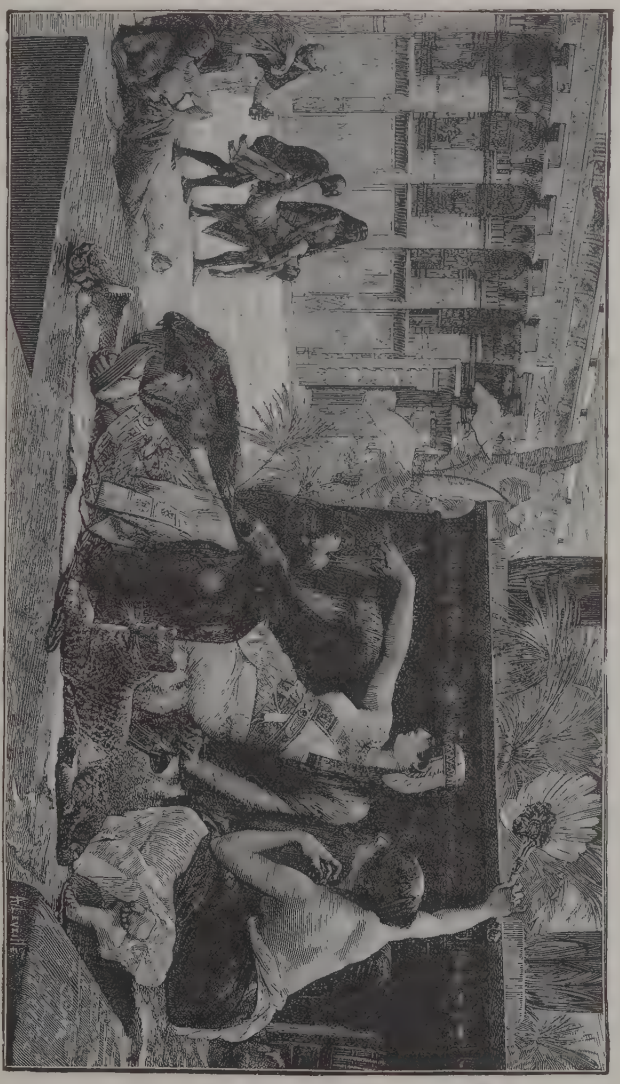
The last great women of Rome strive to save the State.

MARCUS BRUTUS.
Drawn by G. Theuerkauf.

the course of history and prevented the inevitable. Such was Junia, sister of Marcus Brutus, slayer of Great Julius. Such was Arria, wife of Cæcina Pætus, and such was Fannia, wife of Helvidius Priscus—both of whom in the times of Claudius and Nero sought to rekindle the republican fires in the cold ashes of Old Rome.

It may well surprise us to note the conspicuous figure of woman moving among the shadows of the imperial revolution. We have just seen how Julia and Octavia were almost as important in the drama as were their husbands and brothers. Across the Mediterranean, and far to the east, rose another strange and powerful female figure in that last and greatest of the Greek queens of Egypt — Cleopatra. Her character partook of the times. She was not worse than many women in Rome — only abler and more skillful and cunning in that reckless and lascivious fence at which the Roman generals were playing for the mastery of the Mediterranean kingdoms. Three of the most distinguished Romans of that remarkable age fell under her influence. It was to her that Pompeius fled after Pharsalia; but assassination stood between. Julius came and saw and was conquered; but he broke out of the snare, not because he was not ensnared, but because ambition was the dominant passion, and he must away or lose. Not so Marcus Antonius, who but for that dusky image of the Nile might have been the Cæsar of the future instead of Octavianus. The latter also came, but he was a cold, calculating, apathetic soul over whom beauty had no power and passion no advantage. He went away

Cleopatra as a type of the imperial women.



CLEOPATRA AND THE DEATH OF ANTONIUS.—Drawn by Alexandre Cabanel.

as indifferent as when he came, choosing the world instead of the woman.

If we would note the true condition of the principal society of Rome in the days of the incipient empire, we need only look at the family of this cold and calculating Augustus. He first divorced his wife Scribonia, and then took Livia, consort of Claudius Nero, for his wife. This heartless intellectual effigy of womanhood was the match of him who gained her. Her whole career as empress of Rome was a treasonable intrigue to secure the succession of her own son by her first marriage as against any and all the members of the Augustan House. She it was who induced Octavianus to drive his daughter Julia into exile, though the causes in her conduct for banishment were sufficiently aggravating. The empress succeeded in ridding the household of all competitors, and compelled the emperor in his old age to acknowledge Tiberius as his successor.

The family of Augustus typical of the age.

Desperate was the condition into which Roman society now fell. Human nature is capable of development both upward and downward from the common level. The same nature is susceptible of this altitude and depth from the natural horizon on which he was fixed at birth. In its application this principle leads to astonishing results. The character which was most intense as an example of a given virtue becomes most intense as an example of the opposite vice. In material chemistry it requires but a slight change and recomposition of the elements to convert the most bland and innocent substances into the rankest poisons of the laboratory. The presence of a great vice or a great virtue in human character generally implies the possibility of the opposite extreme in the same person or the same people. The fact that primitive Rome—republican Rome, Rome in the scale ascending from the barbaric state of the Latin ancestry to the height of victory and power—was the best exponent in all ancient history of the home virtues, the best exemplar of domestic fidelity and of a sound social state based upon the relations of man and woman, is strangely enough the index and possibility of exactly the opposite in the future career of the same race. As high as the Roman character in the earlier ages rose above the level in respect to domesticity and social purity, by so much did social Rome, after the reäction from glory and luxury had set in, plunge downward into the abyss of infamy. The depth to which she descended was as profound as the height to which she had raised herself was sublime.

Height and depth of the development of the Romans.

No description may fairly picture to the understanding of modern times the nature and extent of the social degradation under the imperial régime. No page in ancient history is more gloomy and polluted, more saddening to human hope, more spectral with its tinges of blood and its shadows of horror than is that which contains the story of the social life of the Romans under the Cæsars and their successors. It was, so far as the private life of man was concerned, a dark and revolting epoch, in which there was sensuality without refinement, lust without relief, and violence without daring. Even the old-time courage of the race fell away from the manly contest, the sharp slaying of the sword, to the ignominious feuds of night and the stealthy stab of the dagger. The virtue of the Roman woman became a bauble. The very name of it was a mock on the lips of ad-

Obliteration of the social and domestic virtues.

venturesses and courtesans. Nothing but the tremendous framework of that gilded imperial system was able to maintain above such a mass of crime the semblance of social grandeur and political power.

Turning from Roman high life, from the life of the Cæsarean court, from the recesses of the palace and the marble halls of villas, to the outdoor life, the common life, the country life of the Romans, we might hope to find the maintenance of the old-time virtues; but our hopes are disappointed. The disease was general. One may easily perceive that the poets and historians of the empire had lost all faith

Common people share the decline and corruption of the race.

EMPEROR TIBERIUS.—TYPE.
Drawn by G. Theuerkauf.

in the integrity of man, and especially in the virtue of woman. Ovid does not hesitate to declare that every Roman woman had her price. This was not true. It was a poetical sarcasm. There were still faithful wives and virtuous sisters and sweethearts who kept themselves unspotted in the times of imperial corruption and gaudy vice. But the general tide set the other way. Even the country home was poisoned. Marriages were contracted and dissolved at the will of the parties; and the efforts of an effete senate by means of law to counteract the evil were made the subject of ridicule.

The early marriage of the primitive Romans was now postponed till late in life, and even to this celibacy came in as a professional method of indulgence without the responsibility of the family. If we may trust the chronicles of the times, it came to pass that the Roman women, descendants, as they were, of those ancient matrons whose name and virtues have become memorable in all lands and languages, spent their time in planning and acting abominable intrigues, the repetition of which would be offensive to the ears of modern times. Above it all was that thin veneer of hypocrisy which human society in its epochs of decadence and disgrace is prone to cover itself withal, as if unwilling to recognize and acknowledge its own depraved practices and degenerate features.

Postponement of marriage indicative of depravity.

To heighten the evil conditions which we are here depicting, the freedom of the life of the woman of Rome came in as a concomitant circumstance. She had never been a creature of restraint. In the days of her supreme virtue—those ancient days when the fame of the race was achieved—she had been a law unto herself, an example to the world, because she chose to be. As we have said, the Roman women went freely abroad to all public places. They shared with the men in festivals and banquets. They went upon the promenade and were borne in their palanquins by slaves through places of fashion. They sat in the open porticoes of villas and addressed their friends in the passing crowds. They went to the circus and theater, and

Freedom of Roman women continued to the downfall.

at length behaved in the great crowds assembled there with the recklessness and abandonment of men of the world. The women shared with men the almost insane passion of the Romans for public spectacles, especially the excitements of the combats and the struggles of the arena.

We may perceive the gradual hardening of the woman-soul under these influences. It is in evidence that the Roman ladies of the licentious era were as much exhilarated at the sight of the life-and-death struggles in the amphitheater as were the men themselves. They applauded and cheered and wagered their money on the gladiatorial combats and races with utter recklessness and abandonment. From the perverted gratification of their pride and passion they turned at length to popular admiration as a source of pleasure. They sought to draw to them a miscellaneous crowd of admirers who might follow them from place to place with that insane devotion which such conditions are likely to evoke.

The soul of woman turns to pride and the circus.

The prime lady of the hour fled from the circus to the watering places on the coast only to be followed by her throng of suitors. Not that she cared to accept, not that she cared to deny, but merely to be admired and flattered. All the male *dilettanti* of Rome followed in the wake of the accomplished and crafty women who led them thither and yon as though they were their suites. It would appear that not many of even the alleged statesmen and philosophers and soldiers of the day were free from the common insanity and its consequences. Only now and then, and under peculiar circumstances, did a flash of the old virtuous light shine out of the heavy shadows of dissoluteness and depravity.

The suitors follow vanity to the watering places.

It is said that in the time of the Antonines a peculiar insanity took possession of the women of Rome to introduce into their homes what was known as a house philosopher.[1] He was a salaried person, whose business it was to teach the domina in the matter of abstractions, and, if possible, to supervise her principles and conduct by a sort of authority of right reason. At this time the coarse-brained Romans had undertaken the study of Greek philosophy. Of course the refinements of those abstruse and wonderful systems of thought which the Greek mind had evolved were too much for the understanding and application of the Roman race; but they essayed the task and talked philosophy after the manner of men.

Advent of the house philosopher; his offices.

It was the vanity of the times, and the women became infected with the popular vice. The house philosopher had the freedom of the Roman home, and took what license he would in the way of lecturing the self-willed and reckless beauties of the establishment. Primarily, his business was to teach them philosophy; but he must also answer the summons to read to the mistress from what manuscript soever she might call for, and also to assist her in composing and sending out her epistolary effusions to her friends, her relatives, her suitors. It was his function to supply her with a certain modicum of intelligence and learning which were requisite as a part of her equipment in the flashy and abandoned society of the day. To this end, he was much in the company of the domina. He must attend her when she went abroad in the city. If she journeyed down to Baiæ, he must have his place with the servants and care for the

[1] See page *ante* 243.

ROMAN BANQUET.—Drawn by W. Friedrich.

paraphernalia of the mistress. Apart from his intellectual superiority and the necessity of his office to the lady in her social drama, the house philosopher was only a species of foil for her humors and caprices.

It is in evidence, however—such is the variety of human nature—that many Roman women of the period actually sought rest for their disturbed spirits in the philosophy which had become the fashion of the day. They sought to think, to occupy their time, and, perhaps, to still their disquieted consciences with contemplation of the subtleties and mysteries of an intellectual system. It may not be believed that the Roman ladies, any more than their husbands, were able to grasp the profound things of the Greek philosophy; but they occupied their time with it for a season, and found some relief from the wasting follies and vices of the time.

The better women seek repose in philosophy.

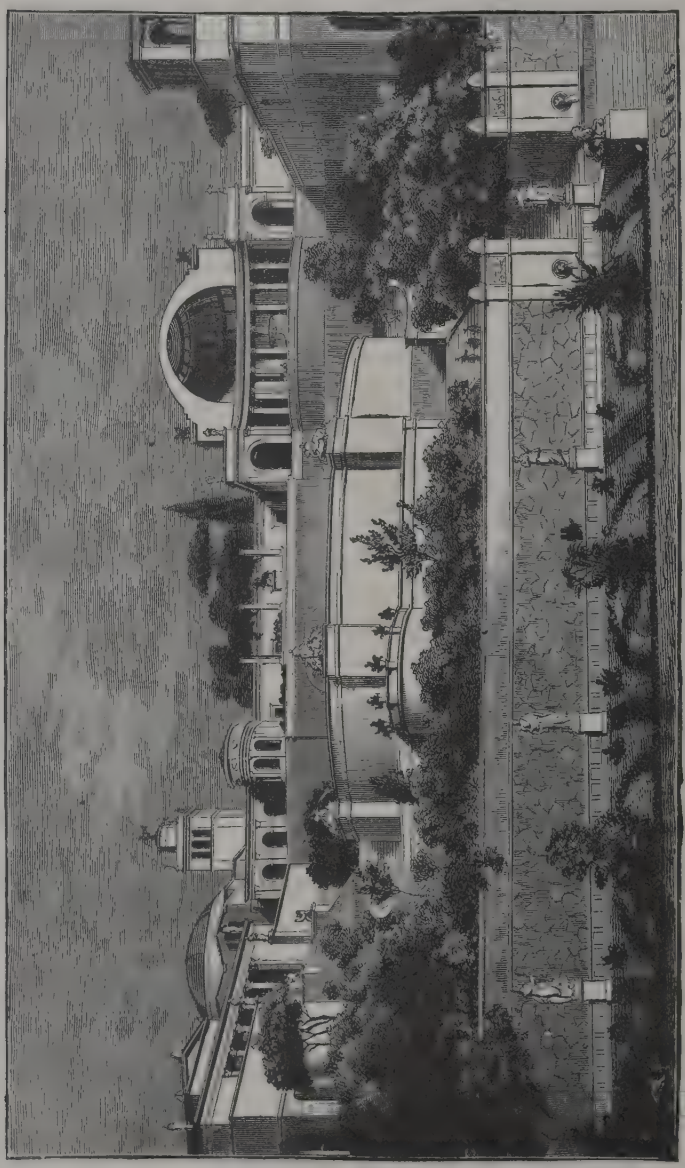
It was at this juncture that the Roman mind began to reach out for some new religious doctrines to take the place of the old. The latter were now virtually abandoned. The restraints under which the Romans had been placed in the early centuries of the republic by the sanctities and injunctions of their religion had now relaxed. In common with the other mockeries, the mockery of the old religion had risen from the deep and sat grinning in the circus, at the carousal, and in the portico of the villa. In fact, ancient Rome had passed away—all but the race whose vigor seemed to survive the destruction of institutions and the transformation of all

Roman mind would find refuge in Syrian religions.

WATERING PLACES OF THE ROMANS.—Bay of Baiæ, with Ruins of Old Villas.—Drawn by L. H. Fischer.

ROMAN CAROUSAL.—Drawn by C. Gherts.

social forms. The conquests of the Romans had now made them familiar with the religious systems of the East. Asiatics had come to Rome, some in captivity, others by adventure, and had diffused a knowledge of the degenerate forms of Syrian Semitism. Baal and Astarte were known in the Capitol. Isis and Osiris were fashionable on the Aventine. Aye, more; Moloch and Priapus were heard of in the temples of Jupiter and Minerva. With this knowledge, too, much of the revolting ceremonial of the East had come along. Rome caught at the infection as an inebriate might clutch at the fiery bowl.



VILLA OF HADRIAN ON THE TIBER, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

We may not know to what extent in the break and fall of the old religion—in the ruins of that mythological system which the Romans had accepted as true, and by which their religious instincts had been directed—the new sorcery of Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor pervaded the society of the empire; but it was certainly introduced and cultivated. It became one of those ever varying insanities which played in the kaleidoscope of imperial Rome, changing color and form with the passing epoch. The Roman women were more led off by the mysticism of these foreign religions, by what they promised to do for their blinded and groping inner nature, than were

the men of Rome, dulled as they were by dissipation and rendered indifferent by the hazards of perpetual insurrection and the perils of foreign war. It was a part of that general fact, the greater susceptibility of woman than of man to religious innovations and propagandism.

Woman leads in the acceptance of Eastern mysteries.

the Eastern religions which had been imported into the country. Then it was that corrupt priests and priestesses out of Egypt and Syria came to Rome and plied their calling. Then it was that strange altars, with stranger fires upon them, were lighted in the Eternal City. Then it was that orgies, to which the

SLAVES CARRYING THEIR MASTER IN THE GARDEN.—Drawn by P. Ritter.

Being woman, it was impossible that her better nature should not in certain individual cases and under peculiar circumstances revolt against the license, the ruin, and debauchery of the social system prevalent around; and in such times of reäction the woman-soul tried to satisfy itself with the mysteries and novelties, even the obscurities and immoralities, of Aryan race had hitherto been fortunately a stranger, were enacted in the darkness of the Roman night, in which the jaded imperial spirits of Rome—men and women—sought to drown themselves into oblivion of the horrors that were the order of the day.

We may well be surprised to note the fact that in the midst of this ruin of the

old estate of Rome, the *forms* of society and of social intercourse were measurably preserved. It is but another illustration of the persistency, the immutability, of custom. If we glance, for instance, at the manners of the household, their forms of address and salutation and courtesy, the terms employed in domestic intercourse, and what may in general be called the habits of the family, we shall find that the same had not been much changed since their establishment in the republican epoch. One may read the familiar letters of Cicero and of other writers of the century in which he flourished, or of the first century of the empire, and will find the same forms employed as of old. The Romans recognized all the family relations in their address. The father said, *Mi fili*, "my son," in addressing him. Sometimes he used the prænomen, saying, *Mi Marce*, *Mi Scribonie*. More frequently the gens name was used, "My Julius," "My Tullius," "My Cornelius," etc. The same method was extended in addressing the daughters and the other descendants and kinsmen of the family. In reverse order, the sons and daughters addressed the parents, recognizing their relation of fatherhood and motherhood. Nearly always in later writing the term *carus*, or "dear," was added, much after the manner of modern times. It is not needed to elaborate these hints of family intercourse and courtesy. The style was maintained through the age of imperial corruption, and it was well-nigh the only plank of the great ship of the past which was preserved and clung to in that boisterous, bloody sea.

Depraved society retains the old forms of intercourse.

We have spoken above of the symptoms of reäction which occasionally appeared in the age of imperial license. Further on these symptoms became more pronounced. About the middle of the second century there was an actual reform instituted—a social reform—in which not indeed the pristine condition of Roman society, but much of its essence and virtue, were recovered from the wrecks with which the world had been distressed under the Cæsarean régime. We speak here of the age of the Antonines. Marcus Aurelius sought diligently to reïnstitute the virtues of the Roman race. In doing so he was but the exponent of his times. Men rarely hold other than exponential relations to the age in which they live. As the condition is, so is the ruler. He does not make it; he finds it. Perhaps he modifies it; for the agency of the individual man, especially the man in power, is able to accomplish thus much—nothing more.

Favorable reäction in the age of the Antonines.

If we look into the literature of the Aurelian period we shall find the infusion of sentiments which would have excited ridicule and scorn in the preceding century. It is evident that the purer form of social and family life had been recovered, and that it was practiced, cultivated, praised. Terms of tenderness, of conjugal fidelity, of praiseful regard for virtue, of hopeful aspirations for a nobler personal life, are abundant in the correspondence and dramatic literature of the age. Nor have there been wanting many writers who have assigned this partial restoration and recovery of Roman virtue to the influence of the Christian teachers, who had now become common and influential in the Roman state. It is said that this influence again found its first vantage and fulcrum in the Roman woman, through whose sensitiveness to religious teachings the new faith worked

Literature of the Aurelian period indicates reform.

its way up from the lower classes among whom it was first disseminated, till it finally reached the palace and the throne.

Another aspect of Roman society peculiar to the times of imperial splendor was its attempt to satisfy itself with things Grecian. This is said more particularly of the Greek language, which was imported into Italy and became the fashion of the day. It was at first cultivated by the upper classes of Romans, senators, and men of the patrician rank. These learned Greek in order to acquaint themselves with the history, the institutions, and especially with the statesmanship of Hellas. It became customary for the leading Romans to send their sons into Greece to complete their education. The thing done was after the manner of modern times. The young man of one country is sent to the university of another land whose learning is reckoned more varied and profound than the culture of the home country. It came to pass at length that the education of a young patrician was disparaged at Rome unless he had had the Grecian finish. Corinth and Athens were the principal seats which were visited by the Roman youth of the upper classes in their search for the intellectual refinements which they could not procure at Rome. All this led, in course of time, to the large interfusion of Greek culture in Italy.

Later Romans seek satisfaction in Greek culture.

At the first, the vulgar Roman conquerors of the second century B. C. brought home the learned Greeks as captives and commanded the service of their intellects much as they might have employed a foreign steed which they had purchased in Cappadocia. At a later time, after the hardships of conquest ceased to be felt so keenly in Greece, scholars and philosophers of that land came of their own accord into Rome, and were much sought for their learning and didactic abilities. As we have said, the republican senators and patricians of the old order availed themselves of these circumstances to learn Greek and to become imbued so far as practicable with the philosophical speculations of the Greek race.

Affectation of Greek extends to all classes.

ROMAN SCHOOLGIRLS—TYPES.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

At length this fashion fell to the women. Roman ladies began to study Greek and to make it a pastime. It was the proper thing for a patrician's daughter to be able to address her lover in Greek, and to say to him the polite little nothings of courtship in that refined tongue of multiform inflections and

light-winged particles. Those ladies who could not master the language as a whole did so in part. They obtained at length a smattering of Greek, and became capable of mispronouncing Greek phrases and of interlarding their conversation with Hellenic tidbits which they perhaps did not understand. It was the fashionable and ignorant woman of an American city talking adulterated and fragmentary French to a company of fops and dandies.

It is not our purpose in this connection to trace the course of Roman society downward through the ages of decline to its final plunge into barbarism, or to note the tedious processes by which the social forms of the Goths and those of Roman Italy were intermingled in the production of that mediæval society which feudalism inherited and ultimately sent to the Crusades. The careful reader, however, will have discovered in this sketch, taken as a whole, the elements of that dangerous and wicked condition peculiar to the institutions of Italy in the Middle Ages. Roman society, properly so called, drew itself into the towns with the approach of the barbarians. There a strenuous effort was made to preserve the old urban activities of the race. It was a long time after all the country parts had fallen under the dominion of the Gothic invaders before the cities yielded to the impact and the northern tides rushed in.

Transformation of society into mediæval type.

The amalgamation then ensued out of which the mediæval Italian character issued. The society which sprang up at length was very different from that of the Teutonic conquerors of Italy and also very different from that of Rome; but on the whole there were more of the ancient Roman features preserved in the new order of things than there were Teutonic features imposed upon it. It is not impossible to discover even at the present day among the Italians an occasional glimpse of the majestic form and countenance, the haughty manner, the imperious will, and even the audacity in action peculiar to the great ancestors of the race, the men and women of the republic and the empire.

Mediæval Italians more Roman than Teutonic.

CHAPTER LIX.—CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE.

IN the foregoing sketch of the social life of the Romans, we have thus far kept close to the sexual relation as the foundation of those phenomena which we have delineated. We have looked at the strictly domestic and family life of the people, in those aspects of the same which were peculiar to the Romans. Alongside of the evolution which we have thus traced from the germinal state to the expansion and decay of the social tree, many other forms of development were coïncident. We have not thus far said anything, except in passing, of the Roman schools and other means of mental and physical discipline. There was never a time in the history of the race when the Romans felt that insatiable intellectual hunger which impelled the Greeks to activity. The Roman

The intellectual life grew with the growth of social forms.

mind was heavy, colossal, dull. Indeed, it would be hard in the whole domain of ancient history to select two facts more strongly contrasted than the intellect of the Greek and that of the Roman. Nev-

WRITING IMPLEMENTS.
Drawn by C. Reiss.

ertheless, there was a certain measure of mind-power displayed by the man of the West.

We should look in vain in Rome for those gymnasia and other schools of enlarged and rational training which belonged to even the earlier periods of the Greek career. But in course of time the Romans sought the school as a means of bringing their sons to citizenship and their daughters to the estate of matrons. There were old Roman schoolmasters who gathered the children of certain families and taught them as a means of livelihood. They were not a respected class of citizens. The references to them in earlier Latin literature are generally sarcastic. There are hints that the primitive pedagogy was the *dernier* resort of eccentric and impractical spirits who were incapable of living by any other means.

The Romans seek to create a system of schools.

In the first centuries of the republic there was no system of schools. Private enterprise was left to supply what the public had neglected. In many instances the school was conducted in the family. Perhaps the children of adjacent households were drawn in by the master and taught with those of his patron. When the private house was not sufficient to accommodate the band of youth thus gathered, the pedagogue sought an open roof or some colonnade near by, and there delivered his instructions. There also he administered his punishments, which were as frequent and severe as the spirit of the austere age in which he lived. The bastinado was freely laid on the naked backs of all offenders, and the power of the rude master was next to that of the *paterfamilias*.

School began with family; powers of the pedagogue.

Sometimes these private schools were conducted in the open streets, in little recesses and squares which the exigency of building had produced. Never in old Rome were there any reputable buildings specially devoted to education. Nothing like an enlarged gymnasium, college, or university was thought of in those ages of war and physical conflict. As we have said, the sexes were intermingled in the schools, and there was

No school buildings; sexes educated together.

SCENE IN ROMAN SCHOOL—THE BASTINADO.
Drawn by C. Reiss.

little distinction either in the curriculum or the discipline based on the fact of sex. It may be said that up to the time of the contact of advancing Rome with the Greeks, and until the culture of the latter began to be absorbed, either from Magna Græcia or from the home country itself, no such thing as higher culture was known among the Romans.

SENECA.
From Visconti's *Iconographic Romaine.*

It came to pass, however, as we have seen above, that the Greek was imported to supply the want of intellectual acumen in the West. He came as a pedagogue. Perhaps he was also a slave. But his abilities were soon recognized, and he became thenceforth, even to the downfall of the empire, a necessity to the culture of Italy. There thus arose two classes of teachers in Rome. The first class was composed of those rustic empirics whose rude methods had instilled into the primitive Roman youth whatever they knew of letters and numbers. The second class was made up of the imported element, who were really men of ability and learning. These soon gained a great reputation at the expense of the former class. The common teachers were despised and treated as menials; but the Greek instructors and lecturers of the imperial age were many times held in the highest esteem.

Greek teachers succeed the rustic pedagogues.

In this age distinguished Romans had themselves acquired, doubtless in the first place by the aid of Greek instruction, the discipline and knowledge and methods of Hellas, and applied them as professional pedagogues might do in their own country. Many names of illustrious Romans belonged by profession to this class of teachers. Verrius Flaccus taught the grandchildren of Augustus, and received for his services a great salary. He was able to dictate to the emperor that his instruction should not be limited to the Augustan princes, but be extended to his whole

Roman professors also are known to history.

body of pupils alike, the princes included with the rest. Seneca was the tutor of Nero. Quintilian taught the nephews of Domitian, and Apollonius was the instructor of Marcus Aurelius. All these names have honorable places in the intellectual history of Rome.

In the Roman primary schools were taught reading and writing. It was expected that every youth, boy or girl, should learn thus much of letters. Next came grammar. The Romans at large were never a nice people in the matter of accurate speaking. The scribblings of the young folk on the walls and porches of their houses have left many evidences of the reckless grammar which they employed. Nor is it likely that the old teachers themselves were wiser than their kind in the science of language. With grammar the student entered the higher learning. Now he fell under the instruction of some Greek master or his assistant, and was taught rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and finally philosophy—whatever that word may mean.

The primary curriculum; wreckage on the grammar reef.

Of all these branches, the Roman mind took to rhetoric most kindly. The rhetoricians were in great vogue in the city, and to be able to speak rhetorically was a high achievement in the estimation of the forum. Here we may see again the great difference in the acuteness and good taste of the Greek mind as compared with the noisy exuberance of the Roman. It is undoubtedly true that in all the nations of modern times which have taken the bottom principles of their jurisprudence from the Roman law, and from the mediæval schoolmen the beginnings of an educational system, the bombast and fury and effulgence of public speakings and writings bear witness to the Latin origin of such phenomena.

Popularity and resulting influences of rhetoric.

Oratory may be said to have been a part of the Roman system of public affairs. It was the only branch of education for which any provision was made by the state. In the last century of the republic and under the empire there was a statute for instruction in Greek and Roman oratory. There was always special stress laid upon the elocutionary art; and so far as the management of the voice is concerned, it may be conceded that the Romans excelled most other peoples. The construction and management of the periods was carefully attended to, and for this business, as we shall hereafter see, the Latin language offered special encouragement.

Importance attached to elocution and oratory.

Besides oratory proper, the young patricians were drilled in the classics. This branch included a study of Greek and Roman authors, particularly the poets. The works of the latter were critically read under the ear of men who were certainly prepared to judge of the merits of such productions in an age when their beauties had not as yet been obscured by lapse of centuries and the interposition of strange tongues babbling on foreign shores.

Studies of young patricians; Greek language cultivated.

It was the wont of young men who were expected to engage in public life, as all young patricians might be supposed to do, to commit largely from the poets and orators; and the public speech of the senate house and the forum was always largely interlarded with quotations and applications of the writings and orations of the masters. If the young man was ambitious to excel, as many were, he learned to speak Greek with facility and doubtless with some approach to vernacular purity. From

SENATORS ENTERING THE HALL.

the rostra and in the discussions of the senate house many passages and even whole orations were delivered in Greek, and were sufficiently understood to meet the requirements of effective argument. The language of the cynical Casca throws a beam of light on the usages of the last days of the republic:

Brutus.—"And after that he came, thus sad, away?"

Casca.—"Aye."

Cassius.—"Did Cicero say anything?"

Casca.—"Aye, *he spoke Greek.*"

Cassius.—"To what effect?"

Casca.—"Nay, an I tell you that, I'll ne'er look you i' the face again: But those that understood him smiled at one another, and shook their heads; but, for mine own part, it was Greek to me."

We have remarked above upon the intimate interknitting of society, properly so called, with the civil and political structure of Rome. Still following this clue, we come now to note a few of what may be called the general social aspects of the Roman people. Straining our vision till we discover the moving figures of the dawn, we observe at the very first a division of the Romans into two great social classes. These were the patricians and the plebeians, the privileged order and the common people. For centuries together the relations of these two bodies constituted the subject-matter of civil history in the state. At the very first the patricians were the whole populus Romanus. It is an instance of what is known as the nobility of priority. The nobility of wealth and the nobility of office are social phenomena of a later date.

Division of the Roman people into patricians and plebians.

Among all ancient peoples the claim to rank was instituted on the ground of priority. "We were here before you were; this land was ours before your coming," was the form of the assumption expressed in language. This is the first method which men adopted of asserting a political legitimacy as against the doctrine of violence, which they are all anxious to disclaim. Even barbaric tribes are not willing to admit that their rights in a certain locality where they have fixed themselves are based upon violent occupation. Yet it is true that their rights—even as the rights of all—have such origin, and no other.

Ancient claim of rank on ground of priority.

The first attempt to avoid the open defense of such a claim is to assert priority. The populus Romanus claimed to be the true Roman folk whose fathers had built the city, planted the state. They were native and to the manner born. In early times their claim was put forth modestly, as is shown in their names of *patres*, fathers. They were merely housefathers, the goodmen of the colony. In a few generations, however, patres came to express much more; to signify that aristocratic order in whose hands the government of the state was lodged.

The populus Romanus lays claim to original possession.

No sooner was the city founded than a second folk began to be gathered by accretion to the true populus. Other colonists came in who could not claim the same rights as the originals. The organizers of a corporation in modern times do not admit the subsequent stockholders on the same basis with themselves. The populus Romanus had gone in on the ground floor, and all after comers must be *attached* to the primary body. Meanwhile neighboring cities were conquered, and new elements of population were drawn from this source. Not much further on, foreign war began by its agitations to bring increments into Latium, to Rome.

First gathering of plebeian elements around the city.

PATRES ROMANI.—Visitation of the Gauls.

Many, indeed, were the sources from which flowed the streams of this secondary and subordinate population called the *plebs*, or common people.

Beginnings of the struggle of social classes.

The instincts of the Roman race were such as to intensify a distinction of this sort. Never in the history of mankind did an order of men contend with more persistency and determination and, indeed, savage ferocity for the maintenance of the rights claimed by their rank than did the patricians of Rome. On the other hand, the discrimination was felt most keenly by the plebeians. From the earliest epochs they saw themselves disparaged in everything, and from the first they began to reach up and to claim an abatement, a relaxation and abrogation of the restrictions, the removal of the impediments by which they were debarred from the full rights of citizenship. Here in this social condition were laid the foundations of that inevitable struggle which continued through centuries, and never reached its decisive and final issue until Julius Cæsar trampled the old aristocracy of Rome in the bloody mire of Pharsalia.

Conditions leading to the final victory of the plebeians.

We here notice only the social aspect of this great question. With the process of time the pride, the arrogance, the power even of the patricians became fortified more and more in the traditions of the race and in all the precedents of Roman history; but at the same time the plebeians constantly increased in number. The disproportion between them and the patrician order became greater and greater. As we have seen in the Commons of England, wealth grew in the lower order. Adventurous plebeians, by commerce and adventure, became rich, and the pride of vulgar wealth was set up against the pride of pauper aristocracy. This increase of the money power in the lower order of Roman society was perhaps the determining factor in its ultimate triumph over that illustrious aristocracy whose rank dated back to the founding of the city—aye, before the founding of the city; for it is claimed in the Roman traditions that Romulus himself had to face the problem of the patres and the plebs; that they were already in a state of belligerency at the time when the warborn whelp killed his brother for leaping over the walls of his city. Space does not offer here for tracing out the nature of the conflict, even from the social side, by which the lower order of people was carried forward to final victory over the nobility. It was essentially a struggle of the plebs to become populus Romanus, to reach an equality of privileges with the patrician rank, and particularly to share the public offices and have a part in the distribution of the *folkland*, or common domain, which the Roman state was constantly gathering by conquest.

Rise of clientage; philosophy of the system.

The next aspect of Roman society as it presents itself for our consideration was clientage. The word is derived from an old Latin word signifying "to obey;" so that the primary idea in the relation was obedience. It can hardly be doubted that this relation was first instituted between the feeble and dependent plebs and a member of populus Romanus, patrician father. If, as we have seen, the term patres and populus signified at first the same social fact, we may easily discern how humble would be the first increments of plebeian society. Newcomers to Rome would be glad to *attach* themselves to any *pater* whom they could induce to look upon them with favor. There would arise in such cir-

cumstances a primitive, voluntary compact by which the stranger, helpless and dependent, would be bound in certain respects to the patrician who took him under his protection.

Modern society is not without its examples of such situations. They arise naturally. There is always a drifting and vagabond element in civilized countries, passing from place to place and

Recurrence of like phenomena in society of modern times.

ment made between the dependent and the patron in Roman clientage.

Patronus was the name by which the superior party to the compact was known. *Client* was the name of the inferior. The house mother, an aristocratic lady, was *Matrona*. According to the Roman theory of society she stood for the patronus in his absence and exercised his prerogatives. To the first

Names and parts of the principal actors in clientage.

SWARM OF CLIENTS.—Drawn by W. Friedrich.

appearing at the gates and doors of the established people who own the soil and live by industry. The vagrant is in a half-starved condition. He is willing to enter service temporarily or permanently on condition of being attached to the household, clothed, fed, protected. He promises to perform certain duties in return for certain benefits. The situation is very real, and, *mutatis mutandis*, it is not unlike the first agree-

client was added the second, then the twentieth, perhaps the two hundredth. Around the patron were gathered a mass of these hangers-on. It was one of the most striking aspects of the society of Rome.

Meanwhile, however, clientage had departed from the original simple dependence of a plebeian upon a patrician, and had become an institution irrespective of the relations of the plebs and the

populus. Any rich man of any rank might become a patron, and any persons of the lower orders of society might attach themselves to him in dependence. Patrons themselves of the smaller sort might become clients of some greater patronus. In fact, the whole of Roman society was involved in the system which was, in its full development, not dissimilar to the vassalage and lordship of that feudalism which was destined afterwards to take possession of the countries once dominated by Rome.

The system extends and becomes the feudalism of Rome.

In the system of Roman clientage we see again the interlocking of private and public life. Part of the duties which the clients were expected to render to the patroni were private, and a part were public. Some of the obligations were simply social, and others again were political, civil, juridical.

Clients must render both private and public service.

It was intended that the clientage should give the patronus social importance. His rank among his fellowmen —we speak not here of civil rank—was determined in large measure by his client following. To have many clients was to be distinguished in society. To have few was to be obscure. On the other hand, the patronus had social duties with respect to the clientage. They had a character in society which he must support and defend. The terms which we here employ to express the interdependence of the two parties are too exact and modern for the facts to which they refer. The relations of the clientage and the patroni were loose and in some sense voluntary. In course of time the law came in to define and regulate the intercourse and mutual obligations of the parties, but the system was never exact and definite as would have been the case if clientage had been

LAWYER AND CLIENT.—The Study.—Drawn by W. Friedrich.

purely a civil institution rather than a social.

The manner and method of intercourse between the parties to this peculiar compact have been many times described. The client was not a member of the familia, but he was attached to the familia, more particularly to its head, as an outside dependent. The principal social obligation resting upon him was in the matter of that indefinite fact called *respect*. He must show respect to his patronus. The tie was personal. It was considered an evidence of social importance that with each morning the clients of a given patron should visit his residence. This act was a part of that respect which must be shown to the superior. The visit might be brief. Punctuality in this regard was stimulated by the daily distribution of what was called the *sportula*, or dole. This was the allowance of provision, or money in lieu thereof.

Manner of the intercourse between patronus and client.

The client was by no means sensitive in these particulars. He accepted anything that the rich family had to contribute to his welfare. He took up the cast-off clothing and accepted the rejected food from the table of the lord. It was not allowable, however, for a client to make the morning call upon his patron without having attended to the formalities of society. He must put on his toga and make himself presentable. Otherwise it was not respect. The rule requiring daily attendance upon the patron was inexorable. Any neglect in this regard broke the relation. From these mere social aspects of the question the duties at once rose to a higher plane. If the master were going into the forum to deliver an oration that day his clients must all attend. They must be near him during the delivery of his speech and applaud to the echo, doing everything in their power to create a favorable impression as to the merits of their master's endeavor. Perhaps he was going to the court. Possibly a cause of his own was on trial. He must be attended thither by his dependents. Their presence in the court room gave influence and character to him whom they followed and a favorable bias toward his cause. In all this we see once more that compactness for which the social and civil structure of Roman society was so noted. It was interwoven in all its parts. After some centuries it will require the long and dreadful debilitation of vice to weaken this structure sufficiently that even the Goths may rend it asunder.

Mutual duties and obligations of the parties.

In the system of clientage there was much that was abject and degrading. In fact, there were points of view from which the clients were not far removed from slaves. Any infraction of the rigorous rules which determined their conduct subjected them to loss of place. They were treated with many indignities. In the gray dawn of morning, through blasts of bad weather, they must make their way to the outer porch of their patron and there stand shivering until his lordship should at length appear to bid them good morning. Meanwhile they were jeered at by the servants of the house. Internally, they were subject to all jealousies and rivalries which men of their class might feel. It was a great point to be first to attract the master's regard on his coming forth. To be occasionally invited by him to sit at the lower end of the table when supper was served was a mark of special distinction. As a rule, the crowd was dismissed after the salutations of the morning had been

Degrading influences of the system of clientage.

interchanged; but if public service were required, then the dependents must be in readiness to follow at the nod of the patrons—an abject, miserable life, concomitant shadow of that brilliant and showy patrician life of which old Rome was boastful. In such strongly contrasted conditions of old Roman society lay dormant the fruitful seeds of dissolution and death.

CHAPTER LX.—SLAVERY AND THE FAMILIA.

ABOVE the horizon appears the crouching form of the slave. Slavery was known even in primitive Rome, but it was not a prevalent system. It required successful war to bring in the captives requisite for the slave market. With the increase of property, and especially with the appearance of luxurious and licentious tastes, slavery became popular, and slave labor was substituted for free labor in all the principal vocations of the Romans.

Origin and prevalence of slavery among the Romans.

As the republic became vast and powerful the tide of captives was swollen to a flood. Thousands were poured annually into Rome and were bought for a trifle. Great foreign cities were taken by siege and their whole population brought into Italy for sale. The inhabitants of Numantia and Carthage were thus indiscriminately sold in the slave auctions of Rome. That which was an incidental and personal traffic at the first became at length one of the principal branches of commerce. The slave trade was organized as a business in all parts of the empire; and it is a mocking comment upon the transformations of ancient history that the island of Delos, mythical birthplace of Phœbus Apollo, god of light and music and art, became under the dominion of Rome the chief seat of the slave trade of the Mediterranean.

There were two great branches of Roman industry which were prosecuted by means of slave labor: agriculture and mining. This division constituted the basis of distinction between the rural slaves and the *servi urbani*, or urban slaves. In the great cities also the servile class grew numerous. The household work of the Romans, done of old time by themselves, was remanded to slaves, and the retinue increased till it was not an uncommon thing for a wealthy citizen to have hundreds of these abject creatures in his service.

Kinds of slave labor and manner of the service.

While performing their duties—we speak here of service in homes—the slaves were forbidden to speak or to communicate with each other. An overseer called the *silentiarius*, or silencer, was appointed to watch over the horde and keep them in order. There was a class, however, called the *Vernæ*, that is, slaves born in the service of a given master, whose privileges were somewhat enlarged. They were permitted to converse, and this relaxation of the stress of servitude acted, as usual, in the manner of a vent through which the loquacity and scurrilous impudence of the Vernæ were poured forth into a sluice.

With the growth of the servile class degrees of skill appeared, and the slaves were separated according to their abil-

MANNERS OF ROMAN SLAVES.—Street in Pompeii.—Drawn by W. Friedrich

ities and craft. An analysis of slave labor for the various departments of home industry was made out and legalized. The porter of the mansion was called the *Ostiarius*. It was his business to attend the door, and there he was frequently chained to the lintel. The care of the atrium was allotted to the *Atriensis*, while the inner chambers were kept by the *Cubicularii*. The storerooms in the basement were in charge of the *Cellarius*, while the names *Ornatrices*, *Cosmetæ*, and *Untores* were assigned to tailors, bathers, hairdressers, etc.

The principal kinds and classes of slaves.

Some of the slaves became craftsmen, and manufactured for the Roman family nearly all articles of domestic use. In such instances the skill of the operative was monopolized at home. His workmanship was not offered for sale, nor was he looked upon as a profit-producing artisan. It was one of the odd spectacles of Roman society to see a slave called the *Nomenclator* standing beside his master in the porch, running with him in public, and telling him perpetually, in a low tone of voice, the names of citizens which the overfed lord had forgotten. For such was the business of that particular servant.

Degrees of skill among slaves; the nomenclator.

In speaking of the Iranic Aryans, we have had occasion to remark upon their excessive cruelty. There was an element of this, of heartlessness, of vindictiveness toward those who were in their power, among all ancient peoples; but in certain cases these qualities came out with unusual severity. We might expect, *à priori*, that the great warlike nations would be most cruel. Doubtless war aggravated the instinctive harshness of some ancient peoples, but the characteristic was in other respects ethnic and instinctive. The Iranians, in their historical development as Medes and Persians, were conspicuous among the Eastern Aryans for their cruel dispositions. The Indic races were, as a rule, the gentler folk. Perhaps the war blasts of nature, the strong contentions of the material world, had not so much affected the mental and physical constitution of the races who were developed in the valley of the Indus and the Ganges. We shall have occasion further on to note the reäppearance of cruelty in its intensest form among some of the Semitic peoples, notably the Assyrians and the Jews.

Cruelty among the Ruddy races; particular examples.

Looking at the Western Aryans, the bad distinction of most cruel must be given to the Romans, and the quality has flowed down with the blood of the race until it is a conspicuous trait among nearly all the Latin families of the modern world. We speak here of the dispositions of the Roman toward his slaves. He had over them the *potestas vitæ necisque*. He might destroy them with little fear of bad consequences to himself. They were his. The ancient theory of war made them so. His right extended to all manner of punishments. If all the tortures inflicted by Roman masters upon their slaves could be displayed in a picture, the world would be appalled at the scene. The Roman slave might be tortured merely to extract evidence from him in legal causes wherein he was merely a witness. A slave fugitive became a wild beast in the estimation of society and before the law. He was hunted down and taken by any means and every means at the disposal of the master, and when caught he was branded or put to death by crucifixion or other horrible torture, at the

The Romans conspicuous for cruelty to slaves.

cruel caprice of his owner. It was no infrequent thing to bind fugitive slaves hand and foot, to carry them to the hills and expose them to have their eyes pecked out by birds of prey, and to be eaten alive by wild beasts.

Horrors of human slavery; ameliorating features.

The horrors of human slavery! The soul revolts at the sight of the spectacle! Of all the awful and grief-working phenomena of suffering human society, whether in barbarian ages or the civilized epochs of history, nothing comparable with this dark and malignant shadow has rested upon the landscape of life, poisoning and corrupting all fountains of love and hope, dropping its upas mildews on every blossom and fruit of happiness, making the world a desert and a hell.

Out of such a fact as the slave system of Rome all abuses would naturally arise. We should expect to see the obliteration of human lineaments in the relations of masters and slaves. Strange it is, however, that the system had its alleviations. These were discoverable in part in the occasional generosities of individual character, and at a later time in the relaxations of the severity of Roman customs and laws.

Danger of deducing too large conclusions in history.

This is but another example of that universal fact of deducing from given historical premises too large a conclusion. The beginner in historical inquiry is ever prone to apply the Aristotelian syllogism to human affairs, and to gather therefrom a series of deductions, some of which are greatly too wide and others greatly too narrow for the actual facts of history. For a long time the mind is perplexed, embarrassed, almost angered with this disparity between actual conditions as they occur in the world and the conditions that *ought* to have occurred according to the principles of logic. Indeed, history might almost be defined as the illogical science. In such definition it is by no means meant that events do not correspond exactly to their antecedents. The trouble lies deep. The antecedents are never fully apprehended. They are apprehended in *some* of their *leading* features. The historical vision being imperfect, these leading features are taken as a complete expression of the data, and are combined in premises. From these, as we have said, conclusions are drawn according to the rules of logic, and the latter are presently found to be wide of the facts.

Historical inquiry a process of rectification.

From this consideration all true historical inquiry becomes a process of rectification between logical deductions and actualities. Let it not be understood that there is in this condition an element of caprice. The imperfections of human knowledge are such that historical premises are never complete. If they were complete, and if right reason were applied in their management, then logic and history would lead to the same results; but so long as they are incomplete and erroneous in statement it will be true, as Guizot has said, that logic is tortured by history—by which he means that the actual affairs of human society never correspond with rational expectation.

Slavery mitigated by humane dispositions of masters.

These reflections are world-wide in their application to human slavery. The system has always had in it the sum of horrors; that is, potentially. But in all ages and countries it has been alleviated by individual goodness and the advancing enlightenment of society. It has always been ameliorated by the pre-slave condition of many of the peoples

who have been given into bondage. It is true that in hundreds of instances the actual condition of slaves under servitude has been for a time and in special circumstances better than in that other state from which they were taken.

In Rome these alleviations were seen here and there. The household slaves grew up with the children of the family, and the latter, by the laws of human nature, became attached to those who cared for them in infancy and youth. Afterward, when the Roman boy reached citizenship, the old ties continued between him and his favorite servants. The same happened in the case of slave women. It should be noted, however, that man-slaves among the ancient nations were always greatly in excess. It should also be observed that such was the condition of society as to discourage slave breeding. The absence or infrequency of that horrid fact was another alleviating circumstance. It was cheaper and easier during the ages of ancient warfare—and all ages were ages of warfare—to bring in new adult captives, adult but young and vigorous, than to bear the expense and endure the delay of breeding them from infancy. Still another circumstance added to the ameliorating conditions. The captives were frequently the equals of the Romans in abilities, culture, civilization. Sometimes they were greatly superior. Those that were brought out of Greece were, as we have seen, the schoolmasters of their masters.

Special alleviations of slavery among the Romans.

It might well amuse, if it did not instruct, the modern inquirer to look into a Roman family of good estate in the last century of the republic, and to observe the relations of the master and his slaves. Most of the Roman nobles had a doctor, each of his own. The physician was a slave. Doubtless he was a Greek. A closer investigation of the case would show that this Greek family physician was a quack. He had the wit and craft of his race, and he turned his intellectual abilities to a good advantage out in the West. Italy was the West. The ignorant nabob who owned him did not know but what he was as learned as Hippocrates. Perhaps in his ministrations to the family in time of sickness and bone-breaking he did little harm, for his wit and slight empirical knowledge would carry him through.

Gain to the slaves from possession of superior intelligence.

The master had a library of manuscript rolls, written for the most part in Latin, but otherwise in Greek. The librarian was a slave and a Greek. He not only kept the library, but was skillful in its use. His abilities in reading and translating were his master's best resource of information. Not all physicians, not all librarians, were slaves; but the circumstance of their being so was exceedingly common. Every noted Roman, especially in public life—and what noted Roman was not?—must have a secretary. The secretary was a slave and a Greek. It will be seen that some of these relations were necessarily confidential, and where confidence is necessary cruelty can hardly be practiced. In these conditions we may readily discover the antecedent facts which led to frequent emancipations. The emancipated slave became a freedman. He at once associated himself with others, and the class of freedmen was thus constituted the *Liberi* of Roman society.

Slaves serve as librarians and secretaries.

It will be readily seen that the institution of slavery in Rome, like several of the facts which we have been considering, had its political, or civil, as well

as its social side. The slaves were an element in society, and they were also an element in the state. In process of time the civil relations of Roman slavery became more important than even in its social aspects. The great multiplication of the *servi*, the increase of the general slave increment among the Roman population, became a menace to civil authority and even to the perpetuity of the republic.

Political and civil aspects of Roman slavery.

It is probable that in all countries the institution of slavery runs the same general course. It begins from the social side. The advantage to the individual man of having another to labor in his stead, the cupidity of the first and the weakness of the other are the bottom causes for the beginning of the slave condition; but these causes are common throughout the tribe. Slavery thus advances and becomes at length universal. Meanwhile the law must deal with the problem. Statute is added to statute. The

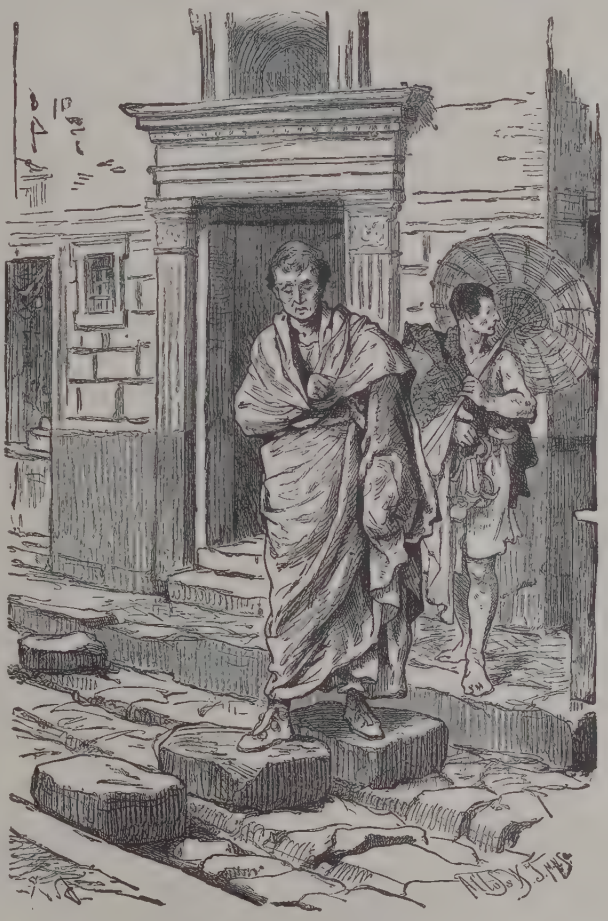
Historical course and end of the institution.

MEETING OF FIRST CHRISTIANS AT ROME.

slave class becomes formidable. Perhaps the leading men of the state come to look with disfavor upon a condition which threatens the general welfare. The state in some form or other must finally deal with the whole question, and then comes the extermination of the system.

Christianity seeks to mitigate or abolish slavery.

In Rome the agitation against slavery began with the reign of Hadrian. It is believed that the Christian teachers had now disseminated their doctrines and had inveighed against the system to the extent of weakening its hold. The practices of the new religion, especially that of the communion, required a certain equality which could only be attained by elevating the slave and abasing the master. The later legislation of the empire had many statutes against the abuses which had long existed; but no direct, or at least successful, efforts were made for abolition. The best that could be accomplished was to promote and multiply the means of manumitting the slaves and of raising them to citizenship.



PATERFAMILIAS.—STREET SCENE IN POMPEII.
Drawn by W. Friedrich.

Evolution of the Roman familia.

We have here been considering those parts of Roman society which were not directly based on the sexual relation. We now add a fuller exposition of the *familia* as a part of the social system of Rome. This was an institution peculiarly Roman in its origin and development. It might be difficult to discover in any other ancient society a fact corresponding to the familia; and yet it appears to be in its evolution natural enough, if not, indeed, inevitable. As we have said in a former part of the present chapter, the Roman familia had the family for its core. The family—using that term in nearly its modern acceptation—was the central and essential part. That is, the union by marriage of the man and the woman, the primacy of the former as the head of the house, the birth, rearing, and authoritative subjection of the children to the monogamic pair, the aggregation around this stem of certain usages which gradually be-

came law and determined the form for all unions of like sort in the general society of the state, were the fundamental inner fact and vital life of the familia.

But around the family were gathered several increments in order to constitute the familia complete. First, there was the increment of the slaves. All the slaves belonging to the household were unified with the family to the extent of being put under the common social name—familia. The slave retinue grew in many instances to enormous proportions. It was no uncommon thing for the paterfamilias—and the materfamilias as well—to own an aggregate of hundreds of slaves. Not infrequently the horde extended to thousands. However extensive this mass of servi might be, they were a part of the given familia, the penumbra of which the umbra was the family.

Various social increments added to the family proper.

The second increment was the property, personal and real, possessed by the household. This, of course, is only the extension of the idea already developed in the slaves. They, too, were property. They were chattels. They were designated as personæ, the real property and personality of the paterfamilias being designated as *res*. The two kinds came together under the common title of property; and both alike were parts of the familia. In short, whatever the paterfamilias owned or controlled in his personal right as a Roman citizen, that was a part of familia—real property (*res*), slaves, all manner of things which he might rightfully claim and control.

The property feature of the familia.

Over and above this a third fact was necessary to round out and complete the familia, and this was to include with the living family the dead family and families which had preceded the living back to a common ancestor. This was the historical increment. Ulpian, in his *digest* of the Roman law, says: "Familia is a term including the many persons who are derived by blood from some common primitive progenitor, as we say *familia Julia*;" that is, the Julian family. He also adds: "But *the woman* is the beginning and the end of the familia." This must mean that under some old theory or condition of Roman society the woman was the fountain head of its derivation.

The ancestral element in the institution.

To sum up, then, we find that the Roman familia was, socially considered, a wide term including the several items of family proper, slaves, personal property, rights, hereditaments, and the immaterial fact of ancestry back to the beginning of the name. Politically considered, the familia was the major division of the gens; and we have already seen how the gens was fitted into the structure of the state. Mark again the compactness of the building. Even the very slaves were bricks and mortar in the walls of that tremendous edifice destined to overtop the world.

CHAPTER LXI.—BATHS AND LUXURIOUS LIVING.

IT has been customary among historians to divide human life into two parts, a public part and a private part, and to deduce all history from the former; that is, from the *public* element in human conduct. It may not be difficult to find the cause, but it is certainly difficult to discover the reason of such a division and limitation. The cause is undoubtedly discoverable in the general fact that the public conduct of mankind appears to the common eye, the eye of sense, to be more brilliant, more tragic, more of an action proper than does the private life of man. Deferring to this popular concept, historians are wont to omit from the record what is really its most essential part.

Man-life embraces a private and a public part.

The truly vital thing in the course of this world is the individual life of man. The rest is evanescent and spectacular. The immortal part hovers close around the individual. The structural part in course of time collapses; but the living increment, that goes on through all the societies, gathering experience, growing in wisdom, extending its powers, and perpetuating whatever is good out of the past, is that private, personal, and fortunately indestructible part of human agency expressed in the individual life.[1]

In the matter of ancient history especially this vice of making a drama of public affairs and inviting the modern nations to the spectacle has been conspicuous. It may be freely admitted that such events as the heroic public episodes in the career of the Hellenic race, that such colossal structures as the Assyrian and Roman empires, are worthy of the admiration of men. At times the busy peoples of the day may, with infinite profit to themselves, sit down before the pictured pages in which the brilliant public life of the great nations of antiquity is displayed, and watch the metamorphoses as we note and applaud the changes and catastrophes of the Shakespearean drama on the stage; but the drama is not all, not even the principal part. On the contrary, the private life contains the germ, the essence, the flavor of all that is; and history is only in these last days beginning to learn that this private life must be elaborated and displayed for the real instruction and inspiration of mankind.

History made to deal with public affairs and spectacles.

The student of history will not have proceeded far with his inquiries until he begins to feel the extreme difficulty of *realizing* the social aspects and conditions prevalent among ancient peoples. The eye, the ear, all the senses and faculties of the mind have been trained from childhood by observations and reflections upon the current aspects of human society. These aspects are named and described. The terms employed in this nomenclature and description are by historians used in naming and describing the societies of the ancient world; but the facts which answer to the terms in modern society are really so different from the corresponding facts in the ancient social landscape as to be utterly misleading to him who has not

Difficulty of realizing the social aspects of the ancient world.

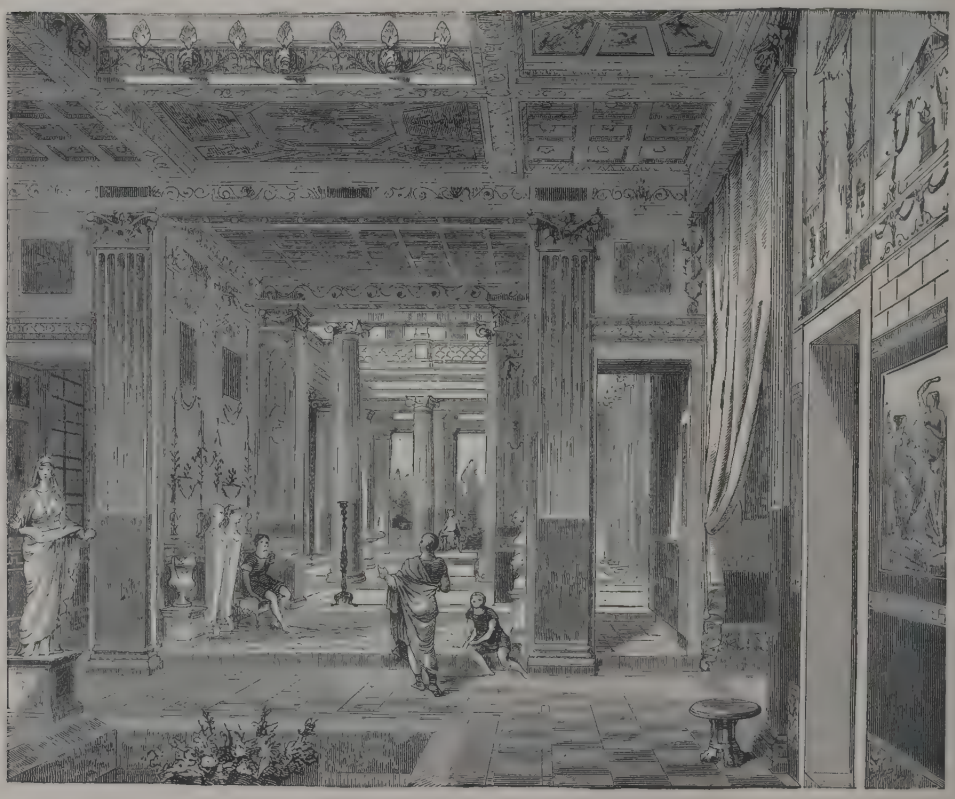
[1] History is the essence of innumerable biographies.—*Carlyle.*

been taught to make an allowance for the evolutions and changes through which the private life of man has passed in order to reach its present condition.

Against these errors we here stand guard. We endeavor to gain a point of view from which a true perspective into the past may be obtained. We strive to look at the past not with the eyes of sense wherewith the natural landscape of the modern world is discerned and analyzed, but with the eyes of the spirit and the understanding. Let us then look with this intense and divining gaze at some of the aspects of the everyday life of the Roman people.

The life of the Roman may be defined as large and coarse. There was only one circumstance in the nature of an instinctive refinement conspicuous in the Roman home. This was the disposition to bathe. On the whole, the ancient peoples were much more tasteful in this regard than are the moderns. If we make the circuit of the Eastern countries from Egypt to Assyria, from Assyria to Greece, from Greece to Rome, compassing the better peoples of antiquity, we shall find the bathing habit universal among them. Notwithstanding the grossness of the Romans in many of their manners, they regarded cleanliness as an essential of everyday happiness.

Instinctive disposition of the Romans for bathing.



INTERIOR OF ROMAN HOUSE.—Showing the Atrium and Alæ; Tablinum and Peristyle, with Fauces on each Side, and Garden Trees in Background.—Drawn by C. Reiss.

We must bear in mind ever that the public institutions of a people are ex-

ponential of their private tastes and preferences. The principal buildings of a city will always express the dominant ideas, desires, and passions of the inhabitants. The public bathing establishments of modern European and American capitals and resorts of pleasure would by no means compare in number and elegance with those of the ancient world. This is said absolutely of the character of the structures in question, and also relatively to their importance as balanced against other public edifices. In Rome the temples occupied the first place in grandeur, and after these the baths may be placed next. The latter were as elegant and commodious in their kind as were the marble palaces which the Cæsars and other Roman nabobs built for their own glory. As we have said, the public structure was merely expressive of a prevalent disposition among the people.

Public baths attest the prevailing sentiment of the people.

We must of course make some allowance on the score of climate. As we approach the equator we find barbarians indulging more and more frequently in the pleasurable reäctions of the bath, while in high latitudes such indulgences are neither desirable nor possible. Italy was sufficiently warm to intensify the instinctive dispositions of the Romans in this respect, and it is doubtless true that under the imperial régime the voluptuous habits, the gormandizing and consequent corpulency of the people provoked the frequent repetition and long continuance of bathing. We here speak, however, of the habit among the common folk. The Roman houses, like those of the Greeks, were, even in their humblest estate, provided with a bath, and to this the occupants were constantly resorting. In the country regions the plunge into the river or lake was an excitement universally desired. In the history of the mythical times, before the establishment of the republic, we find frequent references to swimming as an accomplishment. The soldiers must be able to swim. In such historical allusions we can always discern the excitement and enthusiasm consequent on plunging into the water. Shakespeare has caught, as usual, the real spirit of the ancient narrative in the speech of Cassius descriptive of his swimming contest with Cæsar:

Climate suggests the bath; literary references thereto.

> *Cassius.*—"For once, upon a raw and gusty day,
> The troubled Tiber chafing with her shores,
> Cæsar said to me, 'Darest thou, Cassius, now,
> Leap in with me into this angry flood,
> And swim to yonder point?' Upon the word,
> Accoutred as I was, I plunged in,
> And bade him follow: so, indeed, he did.
> The torrent roared; and we did buffet it
> With lusty sinews; throwing it aside,
> And stemming it with hearts of controversy.
> But ere we could arrive the point proposed,
> Cæsar cried, 'Help me, Cassius, or I sink.'"

The private bath was a *balneum*. Its importance in the household and in the city may be inferred from the vocabulary which it produced. The *balneator* was the bath keeper. Neptune was facetiously called the balneator frigidus — the cold bath keeper! The *balneaticum* was the piece of money which the bather must pay; for the term *balnea*, or baths, was soon extended from the private homes of the Romans to the less pretentious sort of bathing establishments in the city; and for using these the bather must pay. The woman bath mistress was called the *balneatrix*, for the women as well as the men of Rome had the passion of the water. The baby bath was the *balneolum*, while the utensils peculiar to the bathing house were described as *balnearia*. Even the witti-

Nomenclature of the baths and the managers.

cisms in which the bathers indulged—albeit Roman wit was always a clumsy phenomenon—had their descriptive phrase, being called *balneares joci*, or bathing jests.

The habit of the bath among the Romans was undoubtedly at the first merely for health and cleanliness; but with the advance of society and the acquirement of leisure, which some have reckoned to be the end of human endeavor, the bath they appear to us in the great days of imperial splendor. They were called *thermæ*, and in the course of time constituted, as we have said, a large part of the architectural grandeur of the city. Long before this, however, all the refinements and associated pleasures of the bathing house had been introduced. It is doubtful whether any Turkish or Russian bath of modern times is more than a feeble imitation of the elaborate and

Bathing passes from sanitary to luxurious motives and habit.

Establishment of the public baths of the city.

MENTONE.—Drawn by W. Hatherell.

came to be sought simply for the pleasurable reäctions which it afforded. With this came the introduction of hot and cold baths. Nature had, indeed, forerun the art of man in these respects by scattering hot springs in Italy, and to these were added mineral waters, the health-giving properties of which were eagerly sought by the people of the Roman race.

With the progress of luxury the bathing establishments were extended, and soon became public institutions such as careful reäctions which were planned and produced in the great thermæ of Rome.

In a former chapter we have remarked upon the general absence in the Roman state of the artificial means of physical culture. The Romans were never a game-some folk as were their kinsmen, the Greeks. This is said not of their disposition to *witness* games, but of any subjective passion for gymnastical sports. From

Ethnic disposition of Romans to witness contests.

the primitive times certain games at ball were prevalent, and the body was sometimes developed by the swinging of clubs after the manner of the gymnasium. It became the custom of the Romans to follow the indulgence in physical sports with the indulgence of the bath. This was but the suggestion of nature common to all men and to all animals to enter the water after exercise. In connection with the bath houses, both *balnea* and *thermæ*, galleries, open spaces, and transepts were provided in order that games of ball and other exercises might be had before the bather should enter the water.

Method of bathing; different kinds of bathing appliances.

A complete Roman bath consisted of several parts. The bather was first taken through the caldarium, or hot bath. Here he was passed through the sweating stage. By means of steam and hot water he was made to perspire until his huge, strong body was streaming with sweat. Then came the tepidarium, or middle stage, in which he was let down from the excessive heats of the caldarium and thoroughly washed. Finally, he was taken to the great marble basin of the frigidarium, where he was plunged into swimming baths of cold water. Here there was ample room for him to exercise in the great caldrons which were constantly supplied by conduits from inexhaustible reservoirs. There were spray baths and shower baths, cascades through which the bather might run, broad marble steps going down into ample basins, and, in short, every appliance that human ingenuity could invent. The whole process was carried on in a series of apartments which for architectural splendor and artistic decoration could hardly be surpassed in Rome. So far as the public baths were concerned, it was generally after noonday, when the busy life of the streets and forum had subsided somewhat, that the crowd of bathers began to fill the thermæ. The exercise was long continued. It was performed in a leisurely spirit, and the whole tendency was to encourage the luxurious habit into which the Roman race rapidly declined after the institution of the empire.

Building thermæ as a means of securing popular favor.

An easy index of the dominant dispositions of a people may always be found in the means adopted by public men to promote their own popularity and influence. The wealthy citizen caters to the people. He knows instinctively what pleases them most and in what way their applause may be most easily and enthusiastically provoked. In an age of pagan glory temples are built to the gods. In a country where ancestors are worshiped, pyramids are built over their bones. Mediæval Europe is filled with cathedrals. In a scientific age academies and seats of learning are established. In Rome the seeker for popular favor built *thermæ*, and opened them to the citizens. It is proof positive of the passion of the Roman people for the peculiar excitements and pleasures of the bath.

Emperors seek in this manner the applause of subjects.

Out in the Field of Mars, near the Pantheon, Agrippa built the first of those great thermal structures for which the city became famous, and of this he made a free gift to the populace. The Emperor Titus emulated the fame which resulted from this enterprise, and reared a great bath house which took his name. Afterwards, Caracalla, Diocletian, and others carried forward the work of rearing in Rome those magnificent thermæ, the ruins of which to the present day astonish the traveler. In the days of their glory these splendid abodes of rest

and recreation were thronged with the lords and ladies of Rome, who came thither in the afternoons to enjoy the luxury of lassitude and the quickening of cold water. In the Roman *thermæ* the apartments for men and those for the women were separate and under the management of different superintendents.

beach sloped gently to the sea. On the countryside there were hills to be crowned with villas. Near by was the Lucrine lake, and as the central fact, the famous warm sulphur springs pouring out their volume of steaming waters.

In the early days of the republic the Romans, as soon as they had accumulated sufficient means, began to resort to

VILLA OF THE YOUNGER PLINY, RESTORED.—Drawn by R. Puttner.

Sea bathing and coast villas of the wealthy Romans.

The pleasures of sea bathing were recognized by the Romans from the earliest ages. The character of the coast and the temperature of the Tyrrhenian sea invited the inhabitants into the blue waters. The coast of Campania was the most favorable of all. Here was the celebrated bay of Baiæ, one of the most beautiful and placid bodies of water in the world. The this coast, at first for the recovery of health, but soon afterwards for pleasure. There was an instinct in the race which led to the selection of such localities even in distant provinces as the basis of enjoyment and of intercourse. It is likely that this disposition to seek out charming and peculiar places, and to resort thereto for the pleasures of temporary residence abroad, had its origin among the Roman people, and that the corre-

BATHS OF CARACALLA.—Drawn by F. Tiersch.

sponding habit among modern peoples is traceable to the example of Rome.

Neapolis rivals Baiæ as a pleasure resort.

The bay of Neapolis, not far away, was only second to that of Baiæ, but the habit of resorting thither rose at a later date. In course of time the younger resort became the more famous, and Baiæ declined in popularity, but in the latter epochs of the republic it was still the most famous seat of recreation known to the Roman race. Cicero narrates that in his day the shore was adorned with palaces. The neighboring hillcrests were crowned with marble villas that lay slumbering like visible poems in the Italian air. Elegant structures were from the seaside seen in all the landscape. Down hither in summer season came the great senators, the famous generals, the millionaire grandees of magnificent Rome, the emperors themselves with their retinues. Here they disported themselves and lavished their thousands in procuring all manner of pleasures which the race of Romulus had been able to discover. Here by day the sleepy sea was whitened with sails, drifting drowsily before the almost imperceptible breeze that ruffled the surface into a smile.

Scenes of fashion and dissipation of Lucrine lake.

The Lucrine lake also, not far from Baiæ, was alive with pleasure-boats. These were as costly and as varied in fashion as the most elaborate yachts of the present day. On deck, under the awnings, sat companies of the most distinguished people of the ancient world. There they fanned themselves, smiled, and talked in sonorous Latin of the latest pleasure, the newest sensation of the times. Here they were attended by slaves, brought capriciously from unknown regions of the earth. Here they were supplied with banquets, and here they sipped the choicest wines which the rich grapes of Southern Italy could yield. Here were music and song and dance. The revelers filled the hours of twilight, giving themselves without restraint to every luxury and every rapture which the uncurbed will and desire of the great can purchase or prepare in the days of splendid vice.

PLEASURE BOATS OF COMACCHIO.—Drawn by W. H. Boot.

Contrast of imperial splendor with democratic simplicity.

We may here be said to have reached the extreme evolution of the Roman race. It was the period of greatest expansion and development. Gibbon has selected the middle of the second century of our era as the time at which

mankind in the world appeared for a season to enjoy the richest abundance and to be most happily organized into a great community. Great was the distance into the past from this epoch of social splendor to the primitive age in which Roman society began its growth and progress. It is the distance from a bowl of porridge in the hands of a peasant to a golden platter filled with broiled

TRUMPETS AND TRUMPETERS OF ROME.—Scene from the Jugurthine War.

tongues of nightingales or the brains of flamingoes in the hands of an emperor; the distance from the maiden Virginia, standing by the butcher's stall awaiting the quick stroke of her father's dagger, to Messalina procuring the destruction of the daughter of Germanicus; the distance from the Horatii to the Prætorian Guards; the distance from the rustic prayer of the Latin shepherd to the lascivious songs of Horace and Juvenal; the distance from stone huts where lived the Sabine farmers to the Julian basilica and the thermæ of Caracalla; the distance from rude customs permeated with patriotism to the pompous lawmaking of Augustus and Trajan; the distance from the humble procession of matrons and republican citizens bringing their offerings to the altars of Jove and Minerva to the long lines of Cæsarean triumphs, winding with *Io triumphes* through the resounding streets of marble-built Rome.

With the possible exception of the Assyrians, the Romans were the people of strongest passions known in the ancient world. This quality of character began at bottom with a ravenous appetite. All the Roman appetites were wellnigh insatiable. If we begin with mere eating, we shall find that the characteristic was excess. It may not

Excessive appetites and passions of the Romans.

be clearly known that the elder Romans indulged their voracity as did they of a later age; but from that time forth, at which authentic sketches of the daily habits of the people may be recovered, we find the passion for food to be unquenchable. This is true not only of the quantity but also of the variety of foods consumed by the Romans. In the later times it might also be said that they lived to eat. Even the prosecutions of campaigns into foreign countries had for their rationale the enlargement and variation of the food-supply of Rome. Not that Rome was suffering from scarcity of provisions, but that her stomach and lust were without limit.

Emperors seek to procure the materials of gluttony.

It became a part of the public consideration of the emperor and his obsequious senate and court how —by what agents—additional luxuries and stimuli might be procured for the already engorged and inflamed physical nature within. It would appear that the coarse, vigorous, and sensual nature of the Roman found its only satisfaction in gormandizing. Out of the necessity of things this aspect of the social life was most pronounced in the upper classes of the metropolis. The village and countryside always preserve a modicum of oldtime temperance and chastity. It is in the city's heart that excess reaches the maximum of apoplexy or the heat of spontaneous combustion.

The Roman nature thus became the vortex which swallowed up not only the abundance of the earth but the flotsam and jetsam of all seas. No other nature of man was ever so consuming, so profound and unquenchable in its lusts and appetites. This quality of life extended not only to the single sense of taste but to all the senses alike. The Roman ear was not so much pleased with tender music, the low wail of the Æolian harp, the soft song of love and sorrow, the soulful melody of the lute and harp, but rather with the ringing clangor of broad cymbals, the shouts of victorious multitudes, the wild cries of beasts and men in conflict, and the roar of battle. Even their ointments and perfumes were strong and odorous, as if the sense of smell must be drunken with the pungent distillations of the East.

Unquenchable desires; quality of musical taste.

As for the sense of sight, nothing could satisfy—nothing appease. Far back in the times of the republic the disposition to witness some stormy and bloody scene appeared among the Roman people; and from that time forth all the milder aspects of nature and of life were disprized and neglected. We are here on the threshold of Roman amusements. We speak of that artificial and scenic method of entertainment which the ancient world invented and the modern world has perpetuated as a means of reäction against the heavier cares and duties of life. In the Roman nature the reäction must be produced by some extraordinary force capable of arousing that heavy and energetic being into excitement and fiery heat. Lethargy can only be awakened by the shock of fire or the blast of snow; resistance to environment is the beginning of ethnic power.

Extraordinary spectacles necessary to arouse Roman interest.

CHAPTER LXII.—DRAMA AND OTHER PUBLIC SPORTS.

IN the primitive ages the Romans either invented for themselves or, what is more likely, learned from their neighbors in Magna Græcia the art of dramatic representation on the stage. The drama proper was introduced and enacted somewhat in the manner of the Greeks. Musical entertainments of a simple type were also in vogue before the Punic Wars. The theater was a part of at least the city life of the Romans at a time when they were still struggling for the ascendency in Italy. But the theater did not long hold its place in public esteem. The mimic action was not sufficiently exciting for the Roman nature. The playhouse never held an important place in the architecture of the city. Such buildings were comparatively small, and indicated in all their accessories that the populace were not much interested in spectacles on the stage.

Beginnings of the drama and theatrical representations.

The same may be said of musical entertainments, or concerts proper. In

A ROMAN COMEDY.

this respect again the Romans rose as high as the Greeks, but rose only by imitation. We have not as yet said anything in extenso about the unoriginative character of the Roman people. The music of the time of imperial glory had not advanced beyond the simpler forms of concerted piping and harping peculiar to the ancients. The mere melodies and harmo-

The unoriginative character; music of trumpet and battle.

nies which were heard in the atrium or portico of the patrician's house, or in the market place or private assembly rooms of Rome, were too gentle to awaken the strong emotions of the people. It required the blare of a brazen trumpet, flinging its echoes far down to the Alban hills to set the Roman blood aflow and to kindle within him the fires of sympathetic action.

ROMAN AMPHITHEATER AT VERONA (INTERIOR VIEW).
Drawn by R. Puttner.

ROMAN AMPHITHEATER AT VERONA (EXTERIOR VIEW).
Drawn by R. Puttner.

At bottom it was inability to appreciate the artificial and representative panorama of the stage that led the Roman to prefer the real spectacle of the circus and the arena. For a while, and in some of his moods of relaxation, he continued to attend the playhouse and to amuse himself with comedy. There was a peculiar burlesque drama said to have been of Campanian origin, and called the *atellana*, with which the people amused themselves. There was also the *mimus*, another variety of low spectacle, a sort of licentious farce which appealed with considerable force to Roman taste. In these comical productions all that was crude and coarse was poured out on the stage. Perhaps human life never displayed itself with more recklessness and abandonment than in the audacious obscenity of the Roman farce. The only redeeming feature was that the Roman ladies of good repute would not attend the *mimus*, leaving it to the rabblement that hooted and yelled itself into silence at the scurrility and naked shame of the show.

Kinds of stage performance appreciated by the Romans.

It were a whole history to narrate the evolution of the Roman circus and amphitheater. It can not be doubted that the passion for the fierce contests with which imperial Rome was wont to delight herself was dormant in the race from the earliest times. To witness a struggle might be said to be the one universal desire of the people, but in the primitive times the desire was satisfied with those bloodless contests which appear to have had their origin in Greece. They had been borne thence to Magna Græcia, and the early historical contact of the Latins with the people of Southern Italy had carried back a knowledge of Greek sports and the disposition to imitate them.

Evolution of the circus and the amphitheatre.

Before the expulsion of the Tarquins, the open valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills had been converted into a rude open-air circus. Here were celebrated the games with which the still heterogeneous people of the kingdom amused themselves in the intervals of civil insurrection and tribal warfare abroad. The structure of this ancient circus was of wood, consisting of mere scaffolding, platforms, and framework running back from the level grounds where the games were celebrated. It is of record that on several occasions the woodwork was burned, but was speedily restored and constantly improved. The space was enlarged, and stone was introduced as the building material.

CIRCUS OF ROMULUS.—Drawn by A. Anastasi.

The popularity of the scenes witnessed here provoked at length the enterprise of the senate, and the circus expanded according to the growth of the city. As the republic grew great, so also were the means of amusing the public enlarged and perfected. The wooden circus of the primitive ages grew into the stone-built circus, and finally into the Circus Maximus. By the closing years of the republic the seating capacity had been enlarged so as to accommodate one hundred and fifty thousand spectators. Thus it was in the times of Cæsar. In the reign of Titus the expansion had gone on until two hundred and fifty thousand persons could be seated at one time. Still the passion grew, and in the age of Constantine there was room in the Maximus for three hundred and eighty-five thousand spectators! Without doubt, this was the largest and most commodious single arena that ever drew together the masses of the people in any nation or any age of the world.

Growth of the circus commensurate with the republic.

Here were celebrated those great games and contests which have made the Roman amphitheater famous through all ages. It is not our purpose to describe these contests. Such was their magnitude, elaboration, and ferocity, such was their institutional character, that they may no longer be regarded as a part of the private, but rather of the public life of the Roman people. From the beginning of the empire to its final collapse in the middle of the fifteenth century, first at Rome and afterwards at Constantinople, and indeed wherever the Roman power had its principal seats, the circus became

Amphitheater becomes coextensive with Roman rule.

MORITURI SALUTAMUS.—Gladiators Saluting the Emperor Before Joining Combat.

the arena not only of spectacles and shows the like of which have not been otherwhere seen in the world, but also the seat of great political movements, intrigues, and catastrophes. The story of the circus is a part of that external, tangible history which involves the civil institutions and political transformations of that great people.

Looking at the social side again, however, we may for a moment enter the Maximus in the time of its glory and consider the spectacle. It is the day of one of the great gladiatorial contests. Almost the whole population of Rome has been drawn thither in multifarious streams all tending to this common sea. Here is a sea indeed, a veritable gulf of humanity, into which have been poured all of its affluents, however turbid. The arena is an ellipse. In the center is an elongated area, covered with obelisks, columns, trophies, and small structures of marble where the managers may take their station if they will, and from which the games must be controlled. Around the arena is a wall of marble, and from this, ascending at an easy grade, rise the marble seats of the spectators.

Aspects of the Maximus on a day of great games.

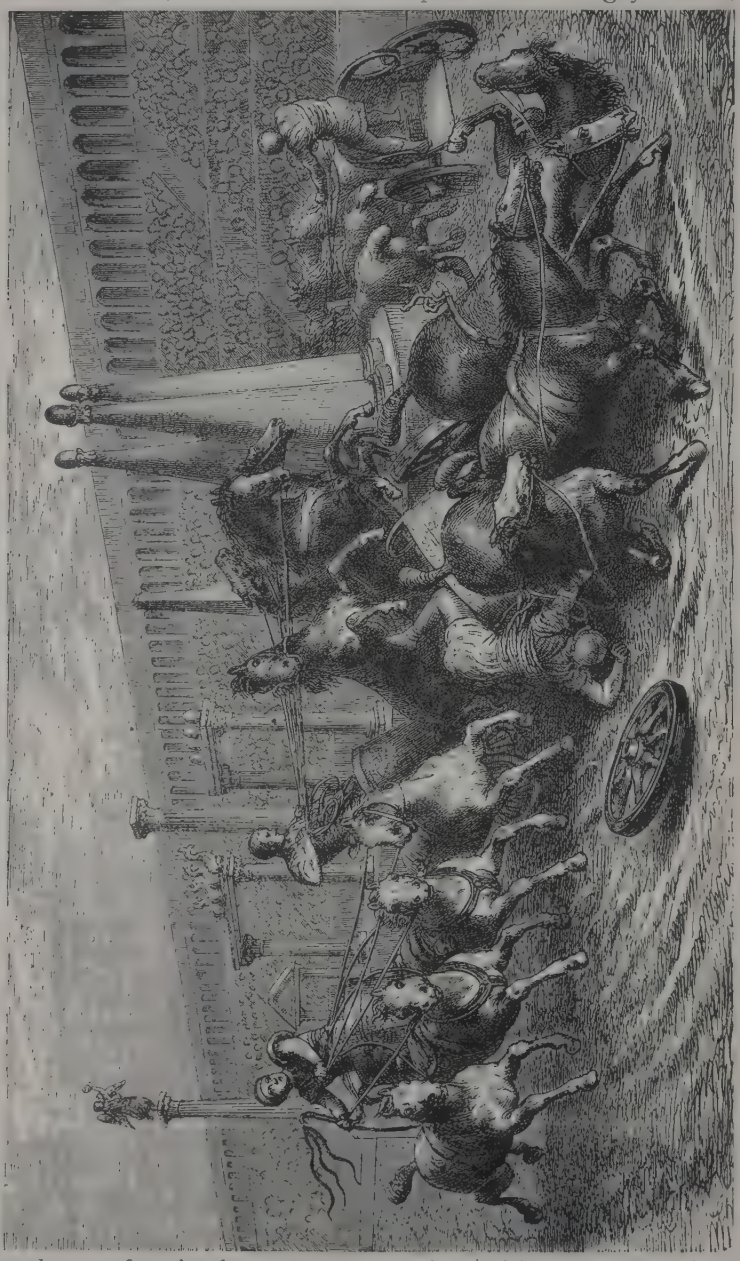
The lowest tiers are reserved for the emperor and his court, for the senate, and for those nobles and grandees who are close to the imperial household. Next above are seen the equestrian order of the Roman people; those whose descent may be traced to the ancient and noble *Equites* who played so important a part in the early constitutional history of Rome. Beyond and above are the seatings of the Roman populace; that is, the great composite mass which constitutes the muscle, the brawn, and bone of proud and licentious Rome.

It is a reckless and innumerable throng, swarming there in the upper arcades, passing in and out, turning into the stalls to eat and drink, and returning to behold the continuance of the spectacle. The men and women are crowded together. There is no distinction of condition or rank in this tremendous background and aggregation of the Roman people. Provision has been made for the maintenance of the crowds through the day and night. Loungers may remain about those upper seats for a week together without journeying five rods from where they sit or sleep in the intervals of the spectacles. Here, too, is a ministration to all the appetites and lusts and passions that inflame the bosoms of a reckless populace. Abandoned women mingle with the throng. Buyers and sellers of wares pass to and fro. Jugglers and fortune tellers ply their trades and gather handfuls of sesterces from the rabble. Gaming is here; carousing, gluttony, debauchery,

The Roman populace gather in the upper benches.

SCENE IN THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS—GLADIATORS IN COMBAT.
Drawn by P. Beckert, from a wall painting at Pompeii.

every species of excitement, and every kind of crime; but so vast is the space and so perfect is the management that these muddy bastions on high drip not their filth on the noble lords and ladies who sit next to the arena. For them there are gay dresses, gallant attendants, and boquets of roses.



CHARIOT RACE AT THE SECULAR GAMES, ON THE THOUSANDTH ANNIVERSARY OF ROME.—Drawn by H. Leutermann.

Betting is universal. It is the gaming, the contest, the hazard of the gladiator's thrust, the swiftness of the four-horsed chariot that constitute the issues of the wager. Thousands and millions are squandered here. The noblest ladies, the princesses of Rome, bet as recklessly as the rest. While the race is on they lean forward; their hair falls from its bindings in the excitement and flies loose about the shoulders; the bosom is half-exposed; the statuesque arms, uncovered from the toga, are flung wildly as the coursers come in and the issue is determined. The princess has either won a thousand denarii from her father or lost two thousand to her lover: for she has bet with both!

At no other epoch in the history of the world was so great attention paid to public sports as in the age which we are now considering. Take a single instance, the preparation of the chariot race. Months of careful training were required before the steeds were ready for the trial. The drivers themselves must be professionals, matured in their skill by every species of experiment and vicissitude to which the race course is exposed. To train the coursers requires stable room, workshops, a retinue of hostlers, and veterinary surgeons. The preparation of horses for the modern race, which is simply a trial of speed, is as nothing compared with the painstaking discipline to which the animals were subjected for the great trials in the arena of the Maximus.

Professional preparation for the chariot races.

The institution of racing was originally Greek; but passing into the hands of the Romans, along with other phenomena of the social life of the Hellenes, it took on a development and character different from what it had possessed in the hands of the originators. Indeed, the whole spirit of the games had been changed in the transfer from the eastern to the central peninsula of Europe. We have remarked upon the predisposition of the Greeks to participate in person in the national sports. It was an honor to do so. Nobody but an untainted Greek could enter the Olympic games. They were national, and to win in the contest added to the renown of Greek citizenship. But the Romans were indisposed to take part personally in the public sports. It was only in rare instances that Roman citizens engaged in them at all. Such descent of Romans, whether of high or low estate, into the arena was a circumstance of scandal rather than of honor. It was only in the times of extreme degradation, of the complete perversion of the true Roman instincts and habits, that some of the emperors gratified an insane ambition by participating personally in the gladiatorial combats. The Romans desired to look on and enjoy a spectacle of blood which those whom they had vanquished in war or trained in servility were obliged to celebrate for the amusement of their masters. The passion for it was diametrically opposed to the enthusiasm of the Greeks for their national games.

Difference between Greek chariot racing and Roman.

But we were speaking of the race course and of the preparation of the steeds. So great was the demand for this kind of contest that private enterprise could no longer supply the horses and paraphernalia. Companies were accordingly formed, with a large capital and working force, by which means skillful drivers were procured from foreign parts and others trained for their work. Chariots were also provided in this way, and all the costly apparatus necessary for the games. The steeds must be splendidly caparisoned for the race and the drivers gayly dressed. It thus happened that the wealthy Roman, whether he were a political aspirant or merely a rich nabob descended from the old nobility, instead of preparing his own racers, went to the livery companies and hired at an enormous cost everything that was requisite for the race.

Companies organized to provide for the race courses.

The populace was then advertised of the time and circumstances of the trial. While the first grandee would go to one establishment and hire his outfit for the contest, a second would visit another company and supply himself in like manner. It was with these companies

Adoption of colors to designate the factions.

that the celebrated "colors" of the circus originated. One company would adopt white as its badge, in which case the drivers and chariots and chargers would be adorned with white ribbons and rosettes. Another company would select red, another blue, and another green, as its distinctive badge. This device furnished an easy means to the crowds in the circus of laying their wagers. The betting was done *on the color*, from which it always happened that a great party in the circus would have money at stake on "the Blue," while another faction would wager on "the Red" or "the Green" or "the White." It was of the greatest importance to each company that his own supply of racers and drivers should be of the highest quality of speed and skill, to the end that the fame of the establishment might induce the excited bettors to lay heavy wagers on the color which designated that company. As the contest ebbed and flowed, so the different companies were able to charge their wealthy patrons a higher rate for the services rendered.

Competition of the great to provide games and sports.

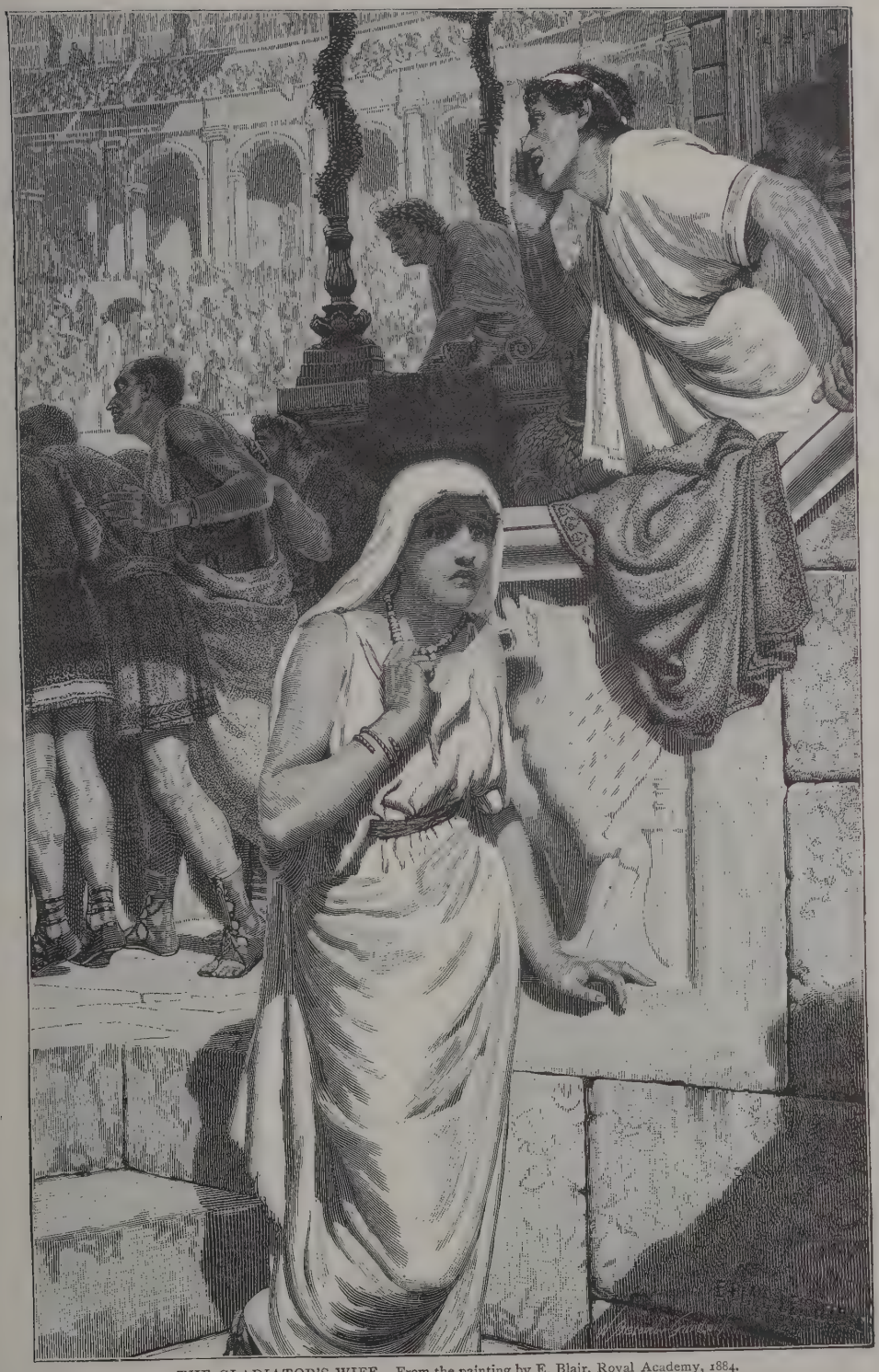
It was thus that the Roman populace was supplied by the ambitions of the great with free amusements of the most exciting character. The competition among those who provided the games and sports led to higher and higher developments, and Rome surged from side to side as new methods of amusement were proclaimed. The time of which we here speak was that of Caligula and Nero. It was discovered presently that the intensity of partisanship in the circus might be increased by reducing the number of colors; and so the parties of the White and the Red gradually dropped out of existence, the Green and the Blue continuing.

Serious political results from the contests of the circus.

The bitter rivalry represented by these colors continued during the last two centuries of the empire; and when the House of Theodosius went down under the assaults of the Visigoths, the games and amusements of the West took flight to Constantinople. In that city the same species of amusements was restored, and the same rivalries which had shocked and torn the society of the Eternal City reäppeared in the city of Constantine. Here it was that the factions of the Blue and the Green—as is well known to the student of history—became the prime forces in those wild insurrections which broke out from time to time in the capital of the Eastern Cæsars.

Aspects of the populace on the day of contest.

If on the hill of the capitol in the early morning the traveler should have taken his stand on the day of a great race in the circus, he should have witnessed a scene of the greatest excitement which the social life of man has ever displayed. The old pagan mythology still held out its spectral hand from the superstitious shadows of the past over the imperial city of the Tiber. She had demonstrated her right and prerogative to be empress of the Mediterranean nations, but had not renounced pagan deities. The priests came forth at an early hour bearing the statues of the old gods of the race and other symbols of that robust heathenism which had once dominated the beliefs and practices of the Roman people. A religious procession was formed. Cars and chariots were arranged in the order of their importance. The rich and ambitious giver of the day's spectacle was placed at the head in the most gorgeous car. He had the place of honor. He was clad in a purple robe. Priests, of-



THE GLADIATOR'S WIFE.—From the painting by E. Blair, Royal Academy, 1884.

ficers, clients, and friends surrounded him, shouted their applause, and fell into the procession. Bands of musicians were set at the head of the column. Down from the capitol hill moved the cavalcade, through the forum, into the circus.

Thither already all the tides of Rome had poured their floods. The marble benches, tier on tier, rising till the eye was pained with the distance of the upper wall, were black with tens of thousands who now took up the shout of welcome as the procession moved around the arena. Thus it was that the giver of the spectacle drew to himself the attention and the plaudits of all Rome. Then with a signal the race was on. Four chariots abreast, each drawn by two, or more frequently by four, horses were arranged for the race. Oblivious are those proud animals to the gathered multitudes, but not oblivious to the contest. They rear and plunge for the best place in the starting. All the energies of the drivers are concentrated upon the work before them, and away they go.

Scene in the circus; manner of the races.

The arena is broad and the race is long. Seven times must the great circle be made before the contest is decided; but at length when the issue is seen, when the victorious charioteer dashes madly across the determining line, a roar of applause which contains the composite shout of all Rome hails the triumphant driver. There shall be twenty-four races to-day, varying only in the incidents and details of the contest. By such means from morning to night the excitement is maintained. The old battle cry of the Roman warriors in the primitive times, the cry for liberty, for emancipation, for triumph, for the domination of the Roman race in Italy, has come to *this:* the shout and uproar of the brazen throat of Rome in the Circus Maximus.

Rome invented one thing—the bloody combat. It can not be ascertained at what time in the history of the people this species of horrid amusement originated. Greece knew it not. Nor does it appear that any other branch of the Aryan race fell to the sport of blood. But the Romans sought it first by the preference of nature and afterwards by the force of habit. The blood appetite is perhaps the strongest passion known to man. Even when man hunts the beasts of the forest his excitement is intense and all of his powers are inflamed. What, then, shall be said of the man-hunt?

Rome invents the bloody combat; actual fighting demanded.

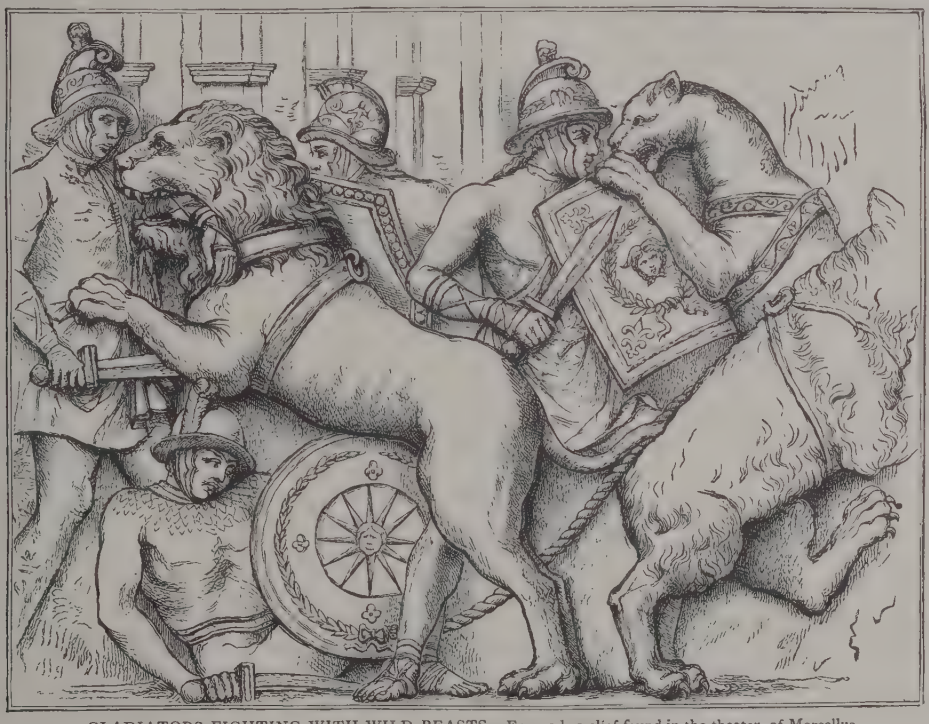
Two circumstances may perhaps be adduced as the bottom causes of the bloody instincts of the Roman race. The first was that subjective realism of character which demanded that everything should be revealed to the natural eye, and nothing to the eye of the spirit. The Romans were the least ideal of all the great peoples of antiquity. All merely representative exhibitions appeared to them dull, weak, lifeless, inane. The thing must be an actuality if it aroused the energies and passions of this strong people. The greatest of all actualities is blood. The blood is the life. To shed it is to squander life—to pour it out on the ground. It is a thing horribly realistic, and must needs please the strong, coarse nature of the Roman race.

The second causative circumstance was found in the long-continued struggle, first of the Latins for the mastery of Latium, and afterwards of the city and state for the mastery of Italy. This conflict extended through several cen-

As war recedes the bloody sports abound.

turies. It was a battle that knew no compromise, no diplomacy. It was simply blow on blow, and wherever the iron sword fell blood poured forth; either blood of the Roman himself or of the fierce Italian peoples with whom he contended for victory. The process of destroying life became habitual, and when the field of actual war occasionally failed, and more particularly when the line of contests of speed and other forms of action took the place of merely dramatical entertainments; just as the great Maximus came to be preferred to the narrow theaters of Old Rome, so in course of time the amphitheater, with its arena of true combat, the actual struggle of beast with beast, of man with beast, and finally of man with man,

Preference of the Romans for combats and blood-shedding.



GLADIATORS FIGHTING WITH WILD BEASTS.—From a basrelief found in the theater of Marcellus.

warfare rolled back from the city, first to the confines of Italy and then to the horizon of the Mediterranean, some artificial process must needs be invented in order that the old race, with its seat on the Seven Hills, might still be gratified with the spectacle of fight, with slaughter and butchery and blood.—Such is the genesis of the combat of the Roman arena.

Just as the games of the circus, the rose to the first place, gaining a preference over the circus in the esteem of the populace. For in the arena of the amphitheater the actualities of war and bloodshed were spectacularly displayed in ever varying forms of conflict adapted to the changing tastes and passions of the hour. The reader of history knows full well the story of these combats; how at the first the Roman generals brought home from distant regions the

wild beasts which were unknown in Italy; how these fierce creatures were displayed in the triumphal processions with which the conquerors were honored on their return to the capital; and how, after they had subserved this purpose, they were made a spectacle by turning them together to destroy each other in fight on the sands of the arena. So delightful to the Romans was this sport that it was soon sought after and promoted as a specialty of public amusement. Then it was that the wild woods of distant Europe and Asia and the desert wastes of Africa were traversed by hunters sent out from Rome for the express purpose of taking and bringing back wild animals for the combats of the arena.

The development of these bloody and brutal sports is a good illustration of the progress and expansion of all human institutions. When the fight of wild beasts was no longer sufficiently exciting, then for the first time the man was sent into the arena to contend with the hungry four-footed monsters of the den. At first, the man was a captive. Perchance he was sent to the sand as an easy method of destroying him when he was no longer useful as a spectacle or valuable in the market. Rare sport it was when the Roman discovered the fierceness of the captive's battle, as he was permitted to know that freedom would come with victory. Then he fought not only for life, but for the liberty to go free. This wage of freedom was commonly placed on the victorious fight of the man with the beast.

Progressive stages of the gladiatorial shows.

COLISEUM FROM THE PALATINE.—Drawn by R. Puttner.

At times a supply of captives was wanting. Why not, under such circumstances, offer freedom in like manner to any slave who would hazard his life in

the arena? Many slaves would do it. For they were not by any means the humble, half-savage slaves known in modern times, but high-spirited captives brought from civilized states and sold in the market to coarse and ignorant masters. Soon it was known through all the under side of Rome that freedom from galling servitude might perhaps be purchased by the victories of the amphitheater. From that day forth the gladiator came as a part of Roman society. Wherever he could he trained himself for the business of the sword. The one great hazard of all hazards might be his skill in a single thrust sent home into the flank of a Bengal tiger or the woolly breast of a Hungarian bear.

The way to emancipation lay through the amphitheater.

Still the Romans demanded more. Suppose two gladiators, instead of one gladiator and a lion, should be turned in together? Royal suggestion! Happy addition and precious bloody increment to the pleasures of Rome! We may already see to what it will lead. A single pair at first, two pairs, twenty pairs, a hundred—swords, daggers, spears, pitchforks, like those of Neptune, snares, hobbles, masks, blindfolds, all manner of combat and all shapes of bloodiness, in a horrid and continuous spectacle, with which the élite of Rome, the masters and the matrons, the young men and virgins regaled their vision, and over which they shouted and clapped their hands in the ecstacies and frenzies of delight. The passion for witnessing gladiatorial combats consumed all classes, and there seems to have been compunction in the breasts of none.

The man supersedes the beast in the arena.

As is well known, the principal scene of these savage spectacles was the Coliseum. This was the largest structure of the kind ever constructed. It was built by Vespasian, or at least begun by him to be completed by others. It had a seating capacity for eighty thousand spectators, and is to the present day one of the best preserved monuments of pagan Rome. Around the arena were arranged the stone dens in which the wild animals were kept and fed or starved according to the exigencies of the battle. This place was the very vortex of the passionate savagery of Rome, where the populace assembled daily to witness the wildest and bloodiest combats which the ingenuity of man has ever prepared and exhibited.

Vortex of Roman life in the Coliseum.

> "'Twas here the buzz of eager nations ran,
> In murmured pity, or loud-roared applause,
> As man was slaughtered by his fellow man.
> And wherefore slaughtered? wherefore, but because
> Such were the bloody circus' genial laws,
> And the imperial pleasure."

We have thus attempted in the preceding pages to depict some of the leading aspects of the social life of the Roman people. All such sketches are necessarily imperfect. Nor may we hope, after a lapse of two thousand years, to evoke from the dust of the dead metropolis of the ancient world the real figures that moved in the streets, crowded the forum, and thronged the circus. The skill of man had not yet, in ancient times, invented the means of preservation which so abound to-day. The daily life of a city and people was not then, as now, recorded in a thousand journals and delineated in a thousand photographs. We are left to manuscripts, inscriptions, and the occasional notices of historians, to the comedies and tragedies of the dramatic poets, and the work of sculptors and artisans. Out of this, however, we may

Much of the daily life of the Romans has perished.

restore at least an outline of that great race by which all the countries of Southern and Western Europe were subjected to a common sway and dominion, to a common form of civilization and government, at a time when England was still inhabited by wild Celts dwelling in the fastnesses of the oak woods, and when the New World existed only in Plato's dream of the Atlantis.

CHAPTER LXIII.—LINGUA LATINA.

E shall in the next place turn to the language employed by the Roman people as their means of intercourse. We shall consider this famous tongue in which the ultimate jurisprudence of nearly all modern nations is recorded as an instrument in the hands of the Roman race, an element of its progress and development.

The Latin race was borne, as we have seen, out of Asia Minor and westward through Thrace and Illyria to its destination in the western part of Central Italy. It can not be doubted that the tribes which thus carried with them to the West the potency of the most powerful nation of antiquity were associated on a large part of their migration with the Æolic Greeks. We have had occasion in a former part to speak of the close affinities of Latin with the Æolic dialect in Hellas and the Ægean islands. This circumstance is indeed the strongest proof which we possess of the common derivation and common movement of the two peoples before the beginning of the historical era.

Significant affinity of Latin and Æolic Greek.

We have also observed above that Æolic Greek was by no means so completely developed as the Doric and Ionic dialects of the same language. The process of free linguistic evolution did not continue to so late a period and reach such elaborate results as were attained in the languages of Central and Southern Greece. This feature of arrested development is the one by which the kinship of the Western tongue is established. We may look at Latin fundamentally either as the most deteriorated form of what may be called the classical Aryan tongues of antiquity, or else as the least developed. We may easily perceive that the slow progress of the Latin wave through Europe and the hard circumstances of the settlement which was ultimately effected in Latium were highly unfavorable to the growth and expansion of the dialects of the Latini, and to this must be added the somewhat forbidding climate through which the nation passed in its journey to the West.

Latin furnishes an example of arrested development.

For language is a physiological phenomenon. There is always a relation between the speech of a given people and the latitude in which that people dwells. More particularly is there a relation of the speech with the general climatic conditions, as to moist or dry, rigorous or mild, equable or stormy. If we look at the dialects of Greek, we shall find that the efflorescence of the Ionic speech was proportional to its position in the most favored part of the country climatically considered. True,

Correlations of language and climatic environment.

the rougher and stronger Doric was spoken in the south, but its forms had been already established before the migration out of Doris. Æolic Greek was still less evolved from its ruder and more barbarous forms and sounds than was either Doric or Ionic; and Latin represents a still lower type of linguistic evolution. It was doubtless the result of the rough climatic conditions to which the migrating Latini were exposed in the migratory period and to their general frontier character. We shall in the detailed consideration of Latin find many features which were undoubtedly attributable to the hard life through which the language passed in its youth.

Physical conditions determine elasticity of vocal organs.

The bottom reason in this variety of linguistic growth must be found in the elasticity, freedom, and activity of the vocal organs under the influences of a mild climate, particularly where the country in question is subjected to soft breezes from a warm sea. If we were asked to select from all possible geographical localities known to men that particular position most favorable to the complete evolution of a language—we speak here of the physiological evolution—we should with little hesitation choose the coast and islands of the Grecian archipelago. All the conditions are here present for the most easy, rapid, and perfect action of the human voice, and of all the organs subordinate thereto, that are known to exist anywhere. On the contrary, in Thrace and Illyria we are in at least the edge of those harsh conditions of climate which have given to the languages of Northern Europe their guttural and chuckling character.

Through this region the Latin language was carried on the tongues of its progenitors until it was stiffened into that inelastic and inactive form of speech which we discover in the age of Latin letters. It was able to preserve much of its sonorous vocalic quality, but not all. For the vowels were sharpened from the corresponding sounds in Greek, the epsilon (ε) and the omicron (ο) of the latter language rising into *i* and *u* on the tongues of the Latini. This phenomenon is precisely what always occurs in the progress of a race to the westward, or more particularly from a milder into harsher climatic condition. Whenever a colony is sent out from a mother country to a region higher, drier, and colder than the original seat, the tones of the language thus borne away rise to a shrill and piping utterance unlike the parent speech. Without any serious loss of consonantal strength, the Latin tongue

Primitive Latin stiffened and sharpened in its progress.

WALL INSCRIPTIONS FROM POMPEII.
Drawn by C. Reiss.

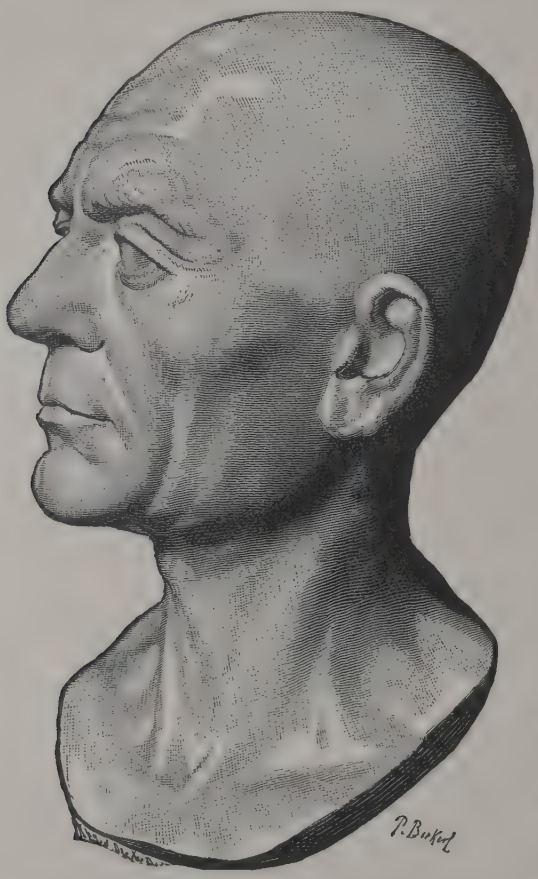
did lose much of the musical vowel element for which the developed languages of Greece were so noted among the dialects of antiquity.

Doubtless the primitive Latin tongues—for there were several—recovered under the mild conditions of Central Italy something of the elasticity and growing force which had belonged to the Aryan languages before their chill in the north. But the recovery was never complete; and the Latin speech might never branch and blossom and bear as did the language of the Hellenes.

If we take our stand in Central Italy two or three centuries before the founding of the city, and glance to the various quarters of the peninsula, we shall find the larger part already occupied with

tribes speaking Aryan dialects. To this fact, however, there are two conspicuous exceptions. In Etruria, in the valley of the Po, and in the district of Campania another tongue is heard unlike the speech of the Latins and Umbrians —so unlike as to note unmistakably the presence of a different race of men. These are the Etruscans, whose probable ethnic affinities have been pointed out in a former chapter.

Primeval linguistic conditions in Central Italy.



OLD ROMAN TYPE—SCIPIO AFRICANUS THE ELDER.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

In the extreme southeast of the country still another foreign language is found, to which the name Iapygian or Messapian has been given, and of which certain inscriptive forms still survive. From these modern linguists have deduced some features indicative of kinship with the Albanian variety of modern Greek, but the affinity is by no means certain. These two foreign languages apart, all others spoken in ancient Italy may be grouped together as of common Aryan descent. They were, at the time of which we speak, dialects in different stages of divergence and development. Latin was one of these, and to several of the others the generic term Umbro-Sabellian has been applied. From this situation the Latin tongue proper began its development as early as a thousand years before our era. This development continued in Latium until the third century B. C., when the Latin tongue became general throughout Central Italy.

Latin becomes the language of the Italican races.

In the other parts of the country the Umbro-Sabellian languages had continued to be spoken, but none of them seem to have made the progress toward the complete forms of a rational language which was evidenced in Latin. In the third century B. C., however, when the conquests of the Latin race brought the other peoples of the peninsula into subjection, the Latin began to be extended as the common language of the whole country, from the Po to Calabria, and from Liguria to Bruttium.

Scholars have been able to discover in the history of the Latin speech three distinct stages of development. The first presents the language in its preliterary, or archaïc, aspect, before literature appeared in Central Italy. The second

The three stages in the evolution of the Latin tongue.

stage reveals the language in process of literary development—a period during which we may suppose a divergence between the colloquial and the literary forms of the language, the latter passing into the evolutions of a complete and rational grammar and vocabulary, and the latter running on in the old, barbarous channels in which it had flowed from the times of the primitive settlements of the tribes. The third stage is marked by the reäppearance of the folk-speech, or true vernacular, in the literature of Rome. It would seem that in process of time, with the general diffusion of letters, the knowledge of reading and writing among the Roman people, the folkspeech was sufficiently improved to solicit at the hands of authors a reincorporation of its stronger elements with the politer, but weaker, forms which had been cultivated in literature.

We may liken this transformation to that which has occurred since the close of the so-called Augustan, or classical, period of English writings, which reached its climax near the close of the eighteenth century. After the times of Pope, Johnson, and Gibbon a reäction took place which consisted essentially in dipping up from the great river of popular speech those natural elements of language which had long been corrupt and rejected as unworthy of literary effusion. In Latin the transition from the second to the third stage in the history of the language was more marked, however, than the transformation to which reference has just been made—so marked, indeed, as to recast and remold the Latin tongue in many of its essential features.

Nature of the transition from second to third stages.

Our real knowledge of the archaïc Latin of the first age is extremely limited. A few actual specimens of the old tongue, which may be called the Anglo-Saxon of Latin, have been preserved in inscriptions and in quotations made by the Roman grammarians and rhetoricians in illustration of the ancient forms of the language. In recent times, since the development of philology as a branch of scholarship, we are able, by reasoning backwards, by deductions from the current forms of speech in the age of Latin literature, to determine what the original forms were before the beginning of the evolution. By all these methods combined the linguistic scholar may restore with tolerable satisfaction the archaïc Latin which was spoken by the men of Romulus, which carried the message of defiance to Porsena, and with which Cincinnatus was hailed from his plow.

Small knowledge of forms and structure of archaïc Latin.

The first epoch in the development of the Latin tongue reached to a much later period than might have been supposed. The republic was already drawing to its close before the archaïc Latin ceased to be the vernacular of the Roman people. It was the age of Ennius, who lived from 239 to 169 B. C., which closed the old and introduced the new era. He was the Chaucer between the barbarous and inorganic forms of the old speech and the literary forms of the new tongue, which he may be said in some measure to have created. As we have said, the specimens of the primitive language which have remained to us are few and unsatisfactory. It is a striking example of the recovery of the seemingly impossible that in times most recent some choice fragments of the archaïc speech have been exhumed from the dead world underlying modern Italy. In the spring of 1880, in the valley between the Quirinal and the Viminal, an

Limits of the first period; recent discoveries.

AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE THEATER.—From the painting by Alma Tadema.

earthen vessel of a peculiar triune form was digged up, which held an inscription fairly to be regarded as the very oldest example of the tongue of the Latin race. Even the unlearned reader can but be interested with the transcription of this writing placed alongside of the corresponding forms of the literary age, and its rendering into English. The first of the following lines repeats the ancient inscription, and the second is the translation into Latin:

Jovei Sat deivos qoi med mitat nei ted endo
Jovi Saturno divis qui me mittet ne te in te

cosmis virco seid asted noisi Ope Toitesiæ pacari
comis virgo sit ast nisi Opi Tutesiæ pacari

vois. Dvenos med feced en manom: einoim dze-
vis. Duenus me fecit in manum: enim die

noine med maao statod.
noni me mano stato.

Which may be rendered with tolerable certainty into English thus: "If any one brings me to the gods Jupiter and Saturn, let not any maiden be kindly to thee, except thou wilt offer a sacrifice to Ops Tutesia."

Admixture of foreign elements with old inscriptions.

In the larger part of the tablets and potteries bearing the inscriptive work of the Old Romans, we find a large admixture of foreign elements. It is evident that there was to a considerable extent a jumble of tongues. The Umbro-Sabellians were intermixed with the Latins, and perhaps excelled them in linguistic utterance. No doubt, moreover, in the primitive ages of which we speak many forms were common to the peoples of Central Italy which presently disappeared from Latin and were retained only among the Samnites and other Sabellians; but the example given above may be regarded as pure Latin in its most ancient form after the introduction of writing.

The original of the upper line contains at least three characters which subsequently disappeared. These we may regard as either a part of the primitive Latin alphabet, or else foreign characters which at that time were incorporated for convenience. The first of these archaïc letters is ꟼ for R, the second is the substitution of I for Z, and the third is the old *koppa* ϙ for Q. To this we may add another peculiarity, which is the giving of a fifth stroke to the letter M—thus, 𐌑.

Preservation of examples of antique Latin.

We have spoken above of certain examples of antique Latin which the Roman authors themselves preserved by copying into their works. Thus did Varro in his treatise, *De Lingua Latina*. He repeats two fragments from the *Carmina Saliaria*, which have been regarded as the oldest extant fragments of the primitive speech of Latium. But they are now known to be so much corrupted with foreign elements that the first place ought to be given to the inscription which we have quoted above. The Twelve Tables which contained the laws of Old Rome, memorable in the history and tradition of the jurisprudence of all modern nations, were written originally in the speech which we are here considering; and it may be regarded as a misfortune to the science of language as well as to archæology that the original tables and all the earlier copies of the same have perished. We are therefore left to consider not the linguistic forms in which the laws were originally written, but only modernized expressions of the same as they were afterwards transcribed in the later and classical ages. By this means all the interesting archaïc elements were eliminated

from the original tables, merely their meaning being preserved in modern translations. Each age produced its own rendition of the famous statutes.

QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS.
From the painting by A. von Werner.

In the bilingual transcript made above we may see clearly the deterioration of the vowel sounds of the Latin language. Those who are acquainted with even the elements of Latin and Greek will readily perceive that the elder tongue has virtually preserved the Greek vowels, while in the standard Latin they have been sharpened into that shrill and piping quality which we have already remarked. Thus *deivos* has become *divis*, *qoi* is *qui*, *nei* is *ne*, *manom* is *manum*, *einoim* is *enim*, etc. The rich diphthongs of the original have sunk into simple vowels, and the latter have flattened through one or two degrees of deterioration.

Deterioration and sharpening of the Latin vowels.

The beginning of the second epoch in the evolution of the Latin language, that is, the literary epoch, was nearly coïncident with the conquest of Greece by Rome. Ennius died in 169 B. C., and the capture of Corinth by Mummius, with the consequent conversion of all Greece into a Roman province, took place in 146 B. C. Already for nearly a century the intercommunication between the two peoples by peace and by war had been almost constant; and while Greece felt more and more the weight of the iron arm stretched out of the west, so Rome felt more and more

Historical relations of the second linguistic epoch.

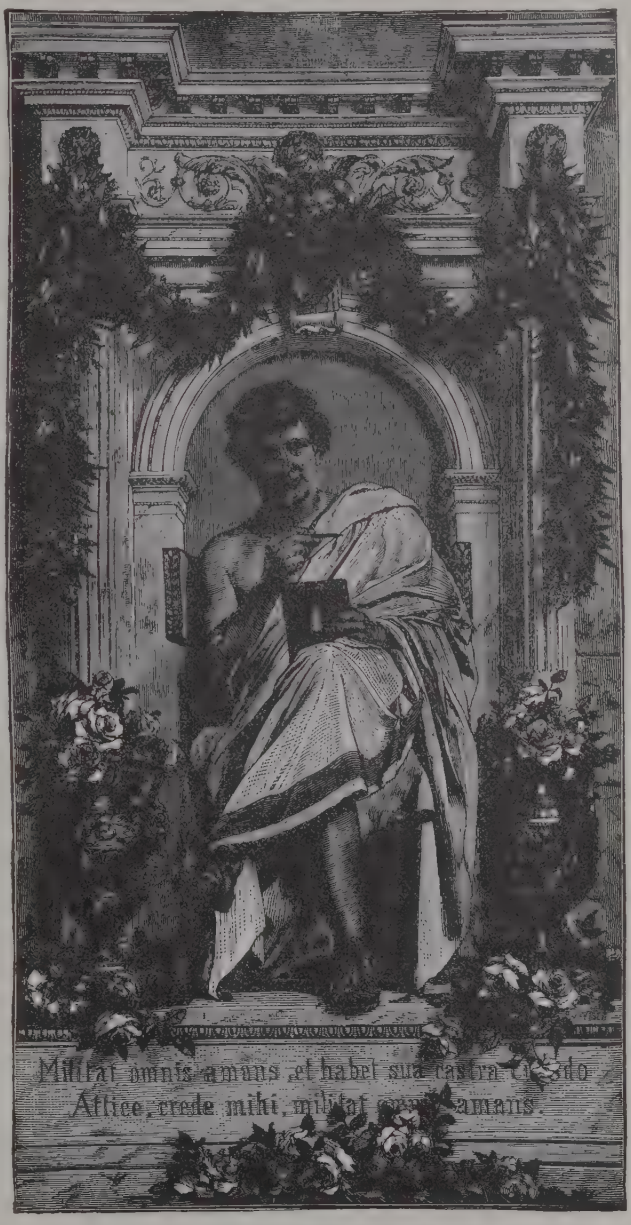
the subtle infections of Greek thought, the influences of the art and learning of those whom they conquered.

Meanwhile, for centuries the same fine infection had been going on from the side of Magna Græcia. The culture of the Greek cities in Southern Italy had moved northward like the snow line of spring retreating before the returning sun, and had penetrated with its warmth and light the towns of the Umbrians, then the Latin cities, and finally those of the Oscans. But the great metamorphosis took place rather suddenly, about the middle of the second century B. C., and may be said to date from the poems of Ennius.

If we look at the merely physical changes by which the linguistic evolution was effected, we shall find them to have been principally the shortening and corruption of the vowel sounds as above noted; second, the dropping of the consonants with which Latin words had formerly terminated; and thirdly, the forcing back by rule of all Latin accents to a position as remote as possible from the ultimate. The shortening of the vowels was particularly noticeable in the final syllables of words and in the reduction of all diphthongs to a simple vocalic character.

Various features of the linguistic changes.

The dropping of final consonants was in obedience to the Greek principle which required as many open vowel sounds at the close of words as could



PUBLIUS OVIDIUS NASO.
From the painting by A. von Werner.

be obtained in that position. It was an effort to produce in Latin something of the musical quality for which Greek was so noted. Doubtless the Roman literary folk of the last century of the republic sought to imitate the "open close" of Greek words, and to this end threw away, wherever it was practicable to do so, the firm final consonants with which their own primitive language had abounded.

the linguistic change from the old to the new form of Latin had not proceeded far until the rule was fixed that no word in the language should henceforth bear an accent on the last syllable.

One of the main features of the change from the old to the classical Latin was the general reduction of the *quantity* of syllables. The whole tendency was toward the shortening of vowels and the consequent multiplication of the number of syllables called "short" in prosody. This change is one that is common to all languages in certain stages of their evolution. Primitive peoples are of a slow temperament, and their speech partakes of the general intellectual character. The tongue dwells long upon each syllable as though it were a separate word. But with the rising heats of national life the tongue quickens its pace in common with the other nervous phenomena of the human animal, and in order to quicken it the vowels must be abbreviated and flattened. It becomes desirable to pass lightly over many short syllables, giving accent and quantity to only a few, on which emphasis is demanded.

Process of reducing the quantity of syllables.

CATO AND PORCIA.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

As to the falling back, or forcing back, of the accents from the last syllables of words, it is difficult to determine by what principle the same was effected. While the Greek language preferred an early accent, that is, an ictus on one of the first syllables of the word, it also freely retained an accent on the ultimate. It seems that Latin in its literary evolution adopted the first of these principles and rejected the other. At any rate,

Recession of Latin accent from the ultimate.

The degree of nervous excitability in any people can be invariably measured by the prevalence or absence of long quantities and heavy accents on the syllables of the language spoken. At the very top and extreme of this tendency to abbreviation and lightness stands modern French. The airy, accentless quality of French is as truly exponential of the nervous state of the people who speak it—that ultimate evolution of the Gaulish race—as was the broad-jawed, deep-throated speech of the Anglo-Saxons, slow and ponderous, the true index of the sluggish and heavy intellectual action of our barbarian Teutonic ancestry. The old Latin possessed all the baritone elements of the tribal language from which it was descended, but the literary Latin moved forward under the influences of Greek culture and imitation into a more rapid and elegant form of utterance.

Relations of utterance to the nervous tension in man.

The change in question was effected between the middle of the third and the close of the second century B. C. It began with the writings of Nævius and Plautus, was carried rapidly forward by Ennius, and was perfected by Cato, Terentius, Pacuvius, Accius, and finally Lucilius. With the latter author the change into the true literary form may be said to have been complete. The refinements of the language, however, belonged to the next, or so-called Golden Age of Latin letters. This began with Varro and Cicero, and ended with Ovid and Livy. Chronologically speaking, the period extended from the beginning of the first century B. C. to the first quarter of the first century A. D. Within these limits are embraced those great classics which exemplify the character of the Latin tongue in its best estate. But immediately after this greatest development we discover the premonitory symptoms of decay. Hardly was the empire established until not only the decline in literary work, but the deterioration of the language itself became manifest. Suetonius has given an account of the conversation of Augustus, and has preserved a long list of the plebeian and vulgar words which that imperial personage was wont to employ. As the court does, so do the imitators of the court.

Beginning and culmination of the literary epoch.

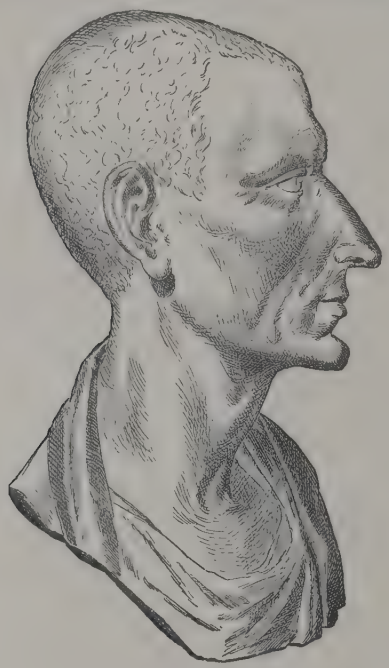
For a while Latin literature continued to be reputable. Through the period known as the Silver Age the language was written with tolerable purity. Seneca, Persius, Petronius, Lucan, Pliny the Elder, Martial, Quintilian, Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, and Juvenal are the great representatives of the literature of the early empire, and their works are the mirror of the linguistic changes which were in progress.

Representatives of Latin literature in the Silver Age.

As is known to all, the language along with the literature reached its maximum of variety and power in the latter years of the republic, and in the hands of Cicero. We should not be far wrong to couple with his name the name of Julius Cæsar. For in reality the Latinity of the latter, though much more restricted in its scope, is scarcely inferior to that of the greatest of the Roman orators. From the fact that Cicero, as a writer of orations, as an essayist, as a philosophical commentator upon the affairs of his own age, and as a critic of literary productions in general, reached the high-water mark in the literature of his race, it has become customary to measure the divergence of all other Latin productions from the Ciceronian standard as by so much a departure from the

Establishment and perpetuation of the Ciceronian standard.

highest linguistic literary form of which the language was capable. With the virtual reduction of the Roman senate to the rank of an advisory body under the empire, the orator's vocation was gone; and since the orator had in the days of republican glory constituted the leading figure in the state, the highest type of citizenship, his decline marked



CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.
Drawn by G. Theuerkauf.

a corresponding decadence in literary production.

If we turn to note the actual circumstances by which the Latin of the Golden Age was degraded and finally destroyed, we shall find, first of all, that the ruin was effected by the introduction of foreign words and idioms. We have seen how Rome brought back to Italy all manner of products from all manner of states and countries. Among these was a portion of the language and the thought of the conquered peoples. They yielded to Rome, and sent her a revenue of corruption. In the age of imperial vice the great men of the Cæsarean system became infected with foreignisms. They began to cultivate the fashions, manners, and to a certain extent the speech, the accent, and the literary styles which they had caught from other peoples, especially the Greeks.

Circumstances leading to the corruption of the language.

The infection in the next place passed into the grammar and rhetoric of the language. The precise framework of construction which the classical authors had employed with such force and elegance was neglected, and the true grammatical fittings of the language fell away. Many efforts were made by Roman scholars to check the process and dam up the sluices of waste; but their work was unavailing. After the age of the Antonines it can not be said that pure Latin was ever spoken or written except by scholars who cultivated it as a mere literary vehicle. The Ciceronian standard had gone down hopelessly before the assaults of foreign influence and internal decay.

We may pause for a moment to look at a few salient features of Latin, such as strongly discriminate the language from others of Aryan descent. As we have said, it was the best example furnished by ancient tongues of arrested linguistic development. This was shown in an especial manner by the poverty of Latin in the way of particles. There was a fair assortment of conjunctions, conjunctive adverbs, and prepositions; but the particle element had none of the abundance and delicacy displayed in Greek, or even in several of the modern languages. In rendering Greek into Latin the student is perpetually surprised by the dropping away of the untranslatable

Lack of particles in the Latin tongue.

parts of the former. Latin had neither a definite nor an indefinite article. The noun stood alone, with no indication as to whether it should be used in a general, an abstract, or a definite relation. *Puer sequitur patrem* was literally "Boy follows father." The meaning was: "The boy follows his father," "The boy follows the father," "A boy follows a father," "A boy follows the father," or any other of the varying general or specific propositions which may be evolved out of the three principal words. There was not the slightest indication as to which of the senses was intended. In fact, so blunt and indiscriminative was the Latin mind that the differences in thought, to which we have referred, had evidently not been discerned; else we might reasonably have expected that in the highly elaborated literature produced by the race some signs of such mental discrimination would have appeared in the language. This is all the more marvelous when we reflect that the Greeks, by the use of their articles and their indefinite pronouns, had, centuries before, devised a scheme for the careful distinction of the various thoughts referred to.

Strong development of the language in demonstratives.

While the paucity of the particles and the absence of articles in Latin left the language like a tree stripped of its foliage, the speech was nevertheless strong in demonstration. By this we mean that these elements of language which modern grammarians call demonstrative pronouns, were largely developed and exact in sense. Not Greek itself was more perfect in what may be called the *pointing out* of things than was Latin. The close framework of Latin grammar, the unequivocal meaning and back references of the parts were largely effected by means of those unmistakable words, *hic*, *is*, *ille*, *iste*, *ipse*, driven like iron pins through the syntax with a force and precision which bound the whole heavy sentence into a colossal unity.

The Latin tongue as compared with Greek was weak in composition; that is, in the free production of compound words. The wonderful facility with which the Greek author could put together the roots of many words, forming a compound expressive of the most complex idea, was wanting in the Latin tongue. Lord Bacon has pointed out the fact that the artistic and imaginative peoples cultivate the compound element in speech, whereas the practical races prefer simple and concrete verbal forms. To the latter type belonged the Latin. Its power of combination was kept within very narrow limits. The large dimensions of Latin words must be referred to the colossal root-elements which were indigenous to the language rather than to ease of combination.

Philosophy of the compound element in human speech.

This predominance of the simple and concrete over the artistic and imaginative quality of language gave to all Latin writings a realistic turn and an exactitude of expression in strict analogy with the character of the Roman race. The Latin vocabulary was expansible only to a slight degree. The language never showed the quality of spontaneous generation as did the Greek. It stopped short with a brief and masculine outbranching, putting on no gaity of efflorescence. There was that in the genius of the tongue which resented even the introduction of foreign elements. Such importations were not readily incorporated, or at least not readily assimilated, with the native structure of the language. Foreign words floated around in the stream of Latin speech, but they were

Severe aspect and practical character of Latin.

as oil to water. The foreign flavor, the alien aspect remained in all such parts of the language as were brought from abroad, and continued to testify of their extraneous character.

The polysyllabic framework of Latin words and the scarcity of diphthongs by which the vocalic elements were reduced in number, and the fixity of the accent on one of two syllables only in every Latin word, gave to the language a certain monotony. It was but little varied in utterance. That is, the tones were limited to a narrow range. But the very qualities which we have here cited added weight and dignity, gravity and sonorousness to an unequaled degree. It is for these characteristics that the Latin tongue has been most celebrated in all subsequent ages as a vehicle of public utterance; not indeed for its argumentative capacity or its refinements or for its musical variety, but for the high-sounding strain and tremendous cadence of the periods.

Monotony of Latin; its sonorousness and dignity.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.
Drawn by H. Volz.

The Latins themselves were not unacquainted with this element, this ponderous declamatory power in their speech. They were proud of the resonance of their orations, and gave more attention, perhaps, than any other people, with the possible exception of the Greeks, to the method and manner of delivery — to that elocutionary part which most peoples have considered of secondary importance. In the age of Cicero the sonorous quality of the language and its colossal constructive energies had been brought to the highest stage of perfection, and the roar of the orator's superlatives and gerundives as they resounded in a majestic swell to the close of the paragraph might well draw from the crowds in the forum an outburst of applause which no perfection of argument or vehemence of invective could have elicited.

Fondness of the Romans for sound and cadence.

The Latin language was distinguished above all other tongues of antiquity for its directness and force. Latin prose, such as it was under the stylus of Cæsar or Cicero, had a certain clearness and cogency and precision—to say nothing of the cadence of the periods and the billowy form of the sentences—which made it, par excellence, the language of business, of legislation, and of war. There was a concrete energy and lucid-

Directness, force, and concrete energy of the language.

ness of meaning and a directness of aim in every well constructed Latin paragraph which pointed unmistakably to the robust power, the vigor in action, and the continuity of purpose of that great race which issued by descent from the Albanian fathers and by locality from the walls of lofty Rome.

Latin speech an example of linguistic architecture.

Considered as the continent of thought, the Latin language was an architectural rather than a vital phenomenon. It was made, but grew not. Beginning with the subjective idea, or thought, the Greek sentence sprang up as the vital, visible, growing symbol of what the Greek mind would express. The thought within drew to itself what verbal elements soever were necessary to give complete and artistic embodiment to itself. The Greek sentence sprang, as it were, by visible expansion and outbranching from the ground of consciousness. It was the verbal emergence of Minerva. But in Latin it was a process of building—sheer building by force of masonry and skill of the masons. Here is the thought to be expressed. Here is the Latin language with which to express it. The problem is to construct a building that shall hold the thought, no more, no less. It may be a wall, a pavement, an arch, a column, a rampart, a façade, a whole temple, but the process is always architectural. The sentence is of vast and solid masonry. There is neither break in the stone nor crevice in the cement. It fits everywhere. There is no weakness, no flaw; for the square has been laid upon it, and the stonemason's hammer has brought the surface to perfection.

This Latin language became under the domination of Rome the medium of communication among the Mediterranean kingdoms. It was the vehicle of intercourse by which the tremendous will of Rome was carried out through provinces and states to the remotest borders of her dominion. There was in the language a quality of stately precision which rendered it in the highest degree a fit instrument for the diplomacy which Rome must needs conduct with the subject nations. At bottom there was even a deeper quality which made the Latin language the language of law, of lawmaking, of the application of law by those processes which had suggested themselves by experience to the Roman people.

A fit instrument for the diplomacy of the Romans.

It were difficult to explain how it is—or was—that principles of jurisprudence took on so easy and accurate a statement in the forms of the Latin language. Perhaps the explanation is found in the fact that that jurisprudence has been inherited by all the modern nations of Western Europe, and that the principles of the Roman law must needs have been coëxistent in their origin and coëxtensive in their development with the speech of the people. It might be that the principles which underlie the constitution of Asiatic empires could not find easy expression in Latin, but certain it is that the fundamental elements in the codes of all those kingdoms and states with which we are acquainted in the West flow naturally into the Latin mold, and are therein embodied in unmistakable forms.

Jurisprudence found in Latin a natural vehicle.

To understand the preponderance of the Latin tongue in all Europe during the Middle Ages, we must remember the extent and variety of the Roman political power before its failure in the fourth and fifth centuries. Rome had carried her conquests across the Alps and made her way northward to the Baltic and

Rome plants her language among the barbarian races of Europe.

westward to the British islands. Her legions had completed the circuit of Western Europe. The Spanish peninsula had of old time been hers. We have seen how various branches of the Aryan race had extended like wild vines into all the territories to which we here refer. Barbarian states had been established throughout the North and West.

VANDALS ON THE MARCH TO ROME.
Drawn by F. Schoenberg.

They had grown into power, and were really formidable antagonists even for the armies of Rome.

But all went down under the impact of the Roman legions. The territories of Europe west of the Rhine became provinces of the empire. Latin institutions were established, Latin usages promulgated, the Latin language and laws introduced among the conquered peoples. The reader of history is well acquainted with the means by which Rome sought everywhere to incorporate the conquered countries and to make them one with herself. One of the principal agencies which she adopted was the dissemination of her language. Young barbarians of promise were seduced into her schools and taught the speech of the schoolmasters. In course of time Latin was thus disseminated throughout the North and West, as it had been already disseminated in the East.

Everywhere there was a mixture of the vernacular with the tongue of Rome. Each province began the development of a speech for itself, the bottom element and grammatical framework of which were Latin; but a large part of the vocabulary and mere verbal peculiarities of each were barbarian. Here we discover the undoubted antecedents of the so-called modern languages of Western Europe. The Franks learned Latin— learned it in their own way, modified its composition, changed its pronunciation, filled its vocabulary with new terms, and presently christened it *French*.

In what manner Romance languages emerge from Latin.

South of the Pyrenees native Gaulish

tribes, Iberians, Basques, and others handled in like manner the language which they had received from their conquerors, and *Spanish* sprang up as a dialect. *Provençal* also appeared in the south of France, under like conditions of barbarian admixture with the tongue of Rome. The Western peoples of Spain gave a peculiar development to the mediæval speech, producing in course of time *Portugucse* as another dialect of the original stock. Meanwhile, the Western empire had gone down under the assaults of the Visigoths, the Heruli, the Vandals, and the Lombards. More particularly the Goths had gained the ascendency in the central peninsula from which the Roman dominion had extended its iron arms in the days of power and glory. But Latin held its own against the rough jargon of the invaders. The composite process began, however, and resulted in the production of *Italian*. On the Danube a sixth and last evolution had taken place by the combination of another Germanic tongue with the Latin stem. Here in the province of Wallachia a variety of corrupted Latin was instituted which possessed the elements of growth and expansion out of which has sprung a modern language, the *Wallachian*, of considerable extent and influence in that quarter of Europe.

Spanish, Provençal, Portuguese, and Italian spring up.

Surveying the whole field, we find no fewer than six principal tongues springing like waterspouts around the old stump of Latin, prodigious in dimensions and deep-rooted in centuries of time. These are Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Provençal, and Wallachian, several of which, as for instance the French, have branched into subvarieties, such as that Norman French of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, which was destined to give to our own ancestral tongue the greatest modification which it has ever received from any foreign source.

It is not purposed, however, in this connection to do more than intimate the vicissitudes of Latin and its distribution as a parent speech into the countries of Europe. It is more germane to the current inquiry to note the dissemination on these multifarious linguistic streams of the jurisprudence of the Roman race. Everywhere the laws of ancient Rome, her customs, her usages, her principles of political conduct, her methods of administering justice, her theories of the rational construction of civil society, were borne afar until they found lodgment among the remotest peoples of the West. Those influences, moreover, which were wafted by means of the Latin language into foreign parts, had in them the elements of perpetuity.

Laws and constitution of Rome borne abroad by Latin.

It was a severe and dubious task to attempt to account for the extreme pertinacity of Roman customs and laws, transplanted as they have been to distant shores and inhospitable climates; nevertheless, the fact remains. As we have said above, the very family which is the bottom unit of all society, as it is constituted among the nations of the West, is derived from Rome. The principles of its organization are fundamentally Roman, rather than Greek or Asiatic. The small facts of political organization, such as the township, the county, the oppidum, the urbs or city, every variety of municipal construction, are likewise deduced from Roman precedents. The process of making laws is Roman in every stage and every essential.

All features of Roman organization thus disseminated.

However varied may be the theo-

ries of modern society in countries some of which are monarchical, some aristocratic, some democratic, some republican, we find everywhere the same bottom constitution as it relates to legislative methods and the processes of law. The legislature, the commons, the upper house—whatever that may be—the checks between them, the process of election, the methods of organizing, the veto, the executive office, the court beyond—all, all are Roman in their origin and in their distinctive features. And underneath this vast structural system that has by its adaptabilities and, perhaps, its common sense been forced upon, or at least accepted by, almost every state of Europe and the New World, there flowed the river of Latin speech. It was on this stream that the ships which carried the institutional forms of the Roman republic into distant regions have been borne safely to their destination and moored in all the harbors of modern politics, from the Baltic to Gibraltar, from the Rhine to Ireland, from Hudson's bay to Uruguay, from the Atlantic coast to the sunlit valleys beyond the Sierra Nevada.

Prevalence of Roman forms throughout modern society.

CHAPTER LXIV.—THE ARTS.

IN attempting to draw a realistic outline of the character and life of the Roman people, we shall in the next place consider their technology and their arts. Whoever has not carefully studied this subject, who has not reflected upon the data accessible until he has discovered the actual condition of Roman life and activity with respect to artisanship and art, must needs be surprised, astounded, at the revelation which awaits him. Among no people of the ancient or modern world, with the possible exception of the Greeks, was there a greater superficial manifestation of constructive energy, of intellectual and executive grandeur, than among the Romans; and yet the appearance was specious in the last degree. It was superficially drawn from the aspect of things, and not from their essential nature. The Romans were, in brief, *the least creative* of all the great peoples with whom they competed for predominance in the ancient world. It might almost be truthfully said that they created nothing. But at the same time it must be allowed that they constructed everything. It is with this fundamental difference between creation and construction clearly in his mind that the reader must approach the consideration of all the outer, and more particularly the artistic, manifestations of the Roman genius.

The Romans the least creative of the great peoples.

It would appear that the whole power of the Roman race flowed into a few simple qualities, such as strength, adaptive capacity, working force, and the constructive concept with respect to both men and things. For the Romans were as much the builders of political society as they were the builders of aqueducts and roads and temples; as much the masons of human life as of the Appian Way and the Coliseum. So powerful was the flux of the whole Roman nature in the direction of the

Constructive capacity of the race; want of ideality.

THE APPIAN WAY, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

tangible activities here referred to that nothing remained for the imagination, the fancy, the poetic flight. The Romans were the least inspired of all the great peoples of the world. The fact is that inspiration was to them a *word*, and not a *thing*. They were capable of the intensest excitement, but of no enthusiasm. They had all the realistic faculties in excessive development, but were strangers to ideality. The very slumbers of the race were overshadowed with the actual, and the Roman's dreams were visions of the forum, of the copper mine, of the legion marching, of stonemasons building an aqueduct, and of a flood in the Tiber.

The practical issue of these subjective traits in the Roman race was that from the first the men of Romulus borrowed everything and invented nothing. A modern witticism has gained currency to the effect that the French nation has not invented anything except the right of insurrection. Taking the witticism seriously, we might find its origin in that greater race from which the French are descended. The Romans invented not, but sought from the inventions of others to appropriate such elements as might conduce to their own benefit and renown.

The Romans borrowed all and invented nothing.

Should we glance into Latium about the mythical times of the founding of the republic, we should see on the hillsides, half-cleared of the original woods, the hut of the Latin farmer. His home was typical of all the rest. It was rudely built of wood or stone, with little attention to elegance of structure or tastefulness of situation. It was only after Rome was founded and contact with the Etruscans had made the people familiar with the architecture of the latter race that a better style of building was introduced. For centuries together the Etruscan masons and architects were necessary to the progress and development of the city. Every great work required this foreign skill for its conception and execution. Strange spectacle to see the Roman patrician victorious over the superior people north of the Tiber and compelling them to build and adorn his city!

The Etruscans bring architectural skill to Rome.

RUINS OF ROMAN AQUEDUCT—ALBAN HILLS IN THE DISTANCE.—Drawn by F. Preller.

From Cyprus, from Phœnicia, from Carthage, from Ionia, and Greece the primitive Etruscans had brought to the Western peninsula the rudiments of skill in construction and in art. These elements were combined by the genius of the people, and considerable progress was made toward the creation of an Ital-

The conquerors drain the countries of the Mediterranean.

ian architecture different from that of the East. It were vain to conjecture to what this tendency might have reached but for the domination of Rome. Certain it is that the architectural skill of the older people had expanded into fair proportions before the days of Romulus. It was the historical contact of the Latins with the builders of Veii, Volsinii, and Falerii that gave the first impetus to building in Rome and throughout Central Italy. The old Sabellians had also made some progress in architecture at a very early period, and from them also the Latins gathered both the knowledge of the building art and its practice.

At the first the people of Latium had no temples. no effigies of their gods. They were indebted for the introduction of these symbols of religion to the Etruscan artists. The first temples built in Rome were designed and erected by foreigners, and it was the mid-epoch of the republic before the plan of the Roman temples and their principal features passed from the Etruscan to the Grecian type of architecture. The old temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was built and adorned by Etruscan architects. The *Quadriga*, or four-horse clay chariot, with which the pediment of the temple was adorned, was executed by Volcanius, an artist from Veii. He also produced the clay statue of Jove which stood in the interior.

Romans dependent on Etruscans for their first temples.

But, as we have said, Etruscan art, properly so called, was far behind the strictly architectural development of the people. The oldest images and vases recovered from primitive Rome have all the features of the corresponding works found in Etruria. The bad drawing, the disproportion, the crude coloring, and

BACCHIC VASE OF ETRUSCAN PATTERN.
Drawn by Charles Goutzwiller, from a photograph.

the staring expression of fright with which the faces of the images are disfigured all bear evidence that Rome had neither art nor architecture of her own. As soon as intercourse was established with Greece the discrepancy between the rude work done by the Etruscan forhad been put in place as a fitting concrete upon which to rear the glory of the future city. By the middle of the fifth century B. C. the passion of the Romans for honoring their great men with statues was displayed, though not at first in full force. It became customary to set up in

Rudeness of the primitive arts of both peoples.

Dependence on Greece for memorials and statues

ROMAN SHIP, WITH GRAPPLING IRONS.—From Trajan's Column, Rome.

eigners in Rome and that of the Hellenic artists was discovered; and as early as the days of Servius Tullius importations of skill and of actual art works began from the Greek cities.

Meanwhile the solid basis of Old Rome was laid by the Etruscan artisans. The huge stones, many of which are still unmoved from their ancient foundations, the streets of the city memorials to such of the great men of the race as had distinguished themselves in battle or in the senate. But the work could not be done by Roman hands. They had power, but no skill. Such statues were imported from abroad, from Greece; and in course of time the artist himself was imported likewise. What Rome could

not produce she could command; and what she could command she ordered.

Emergency compels invention; shipbuilding lags.

On every side we discover, even from the primitive ages, the unoriginative character of the Roman people. The ideal and creative faculties of mind were wanting in the race to such an extent that originality, or what is called somewhat vaguely by the name of genius, was virtually an unknown quantity. What we have said of the early dependence of Latium upon Etruria and Magna Græcia for the elements of art and artisanship may be repeated of the middle age of republican Rome. Sometimes in an emergency the Romans were driven by sheer stress of circumstances to produce for themselves, but the effort was laborious in the last degree. When any such contingency arose, it was evident that the work was looked upon by its producers as something marvelous. Certainly it should not be thought wonderful that the Romans should be shipbuilders. There the peninsula lay fairly projecting far between two placid seas. To east and west the Mediterranean constituted an easy thoroughfare to all the surrounding kingdoms. As we have said, the absence of harbors on the Italian coast might account for the backwardness of the race in maritime adventure, but could not wholly explain the absence of shipbuilding skill among the great people who had arrogated to themselves and had taken by conquest the right of governing all Italy.

Slow production of Roman fleets; the grappling hooks.

The student of history will recall the fact that at the outbreak of the Punic Wars the great advantage of the Carthaginians over the Romans lay in the possession of fleets and a marine soldiery by the former, and the absence of the same on the side of the Romans. More particularly he will recall how at the epoch of the second Punic War the Romans roused themselves to compete with their enemies on the sea, and how they were driven to seek a model for a war ship in the wreck of a Carthaginian vessel accidentally driven ashore by the storm. The unskill, too, of the Romans in their management of ships in the ensuing war was conspicuous. But though the race could not invent, it could learn. It was not long after the first fleet had been created until the Roman sailors were a terror even to the sea veterans of Carthage.

Even in the details of such matters the same wonder is expressed by the Romans in their occasional contrivance of some effective thing. Remember the grappling hooks. The thing in itself was not a prodigy. It was certainly no stroke of genius to observe how easily one ship might be bound to another in battle, allowing the soldiers to pass from deck to deck, until the issue of the fight might be decided by such prowess as the legion displayed on land. In such an emergency the grappling hook would suggest itself to the dull brain of a common blacksmith. But when Rome invented for herself this clumsy, but effective, contrivance of holding fast her enemy's ship, it was reckoned so mighty a work of genius that it passed into history and song as one of the triumphs of the race.

The Romans wonder at the skill of other races.

In all departments of artisanship the same backwardness of adaptation appeared. It was only under the compulsion of some necessity that the Romans showed themselves capable of producing the commonest contrivances. They looked with wonder upon the multifarious industries which were plied in the countries and by the peoples

whom they conquered. It was almost a barbarian sentiment with which this vigorous, warlike race contemplated at first the splendor of achievement which was discovered in Greece. But it was in the nature of Rome to discern advantage, and to gather even from the ends of the earth all things and processes soever that might benefit herself. quering Italy. Historians and moralists have been wont to call Rome a robber. It was appropriation as much as robbery with which she enriched herself. It is true that she transferred the actual properties of all foreign states with which she came into contact to her own dominions. In this she simply adopted and applied the war code of the ages in

ROMAN BAKERY, RESTORED.—Drawn by W. Friedrich, from the original at Pompeii.

If we could at this late day enter the shops and manufactories of Rome, and had we in the meantime acquainted ourselves with the nature and extent of the industries which were prosecuted by the Eastern peoples from the fourth century B. C. to the third A. D., we should be amazed to see how completely such industries had been transplanted to con-

Knowledge of practical arts imported from alien races.

which she flourished. But to transfer an invention, a contrivance, a method of industry, a means of accomplishing something—in short, an art, whether industrial or polite—was to appropriate rather than to rob. Such gathering up from foreign nations of their skill, their inventions and arts, did not deprive those nations of the right to continue their industries and artisanship as be-

fore, but merely weakened them by the diffusion of their special powers into a foreign state.

In all this we are able to discover a striking example of what has been frequently seen in the history of the world, namely, the evidence of a general civilization through all time, all countries, and all conditions by successive special contributions of each people in its turn. May we not discern the agency which Rome is now to exercise in diffusing to every part of the Mediterranean regions, and ultimately to all Europe and to the Western world at large, by means of her greatness and the avenues of her power, all the local results which she had gathered from the various races with which she had come into contact? Rome was destined to scatter what may be called the physical apparatus of civilization and a civil organic structure, just as Greece had been destined to diffuse the light of learning and the beauties of art to the ends of the world. It is by such gatherings up and subsequent dispensations of civilizing elements that all the nations of the world must ultimately be enlightened and brought from barbarism into the civilized estate.

Rome first gathers and then distributes civilization.

Since one of the three principal means of maintaining human life in the earth is shelter, and since all architectural achievements may be said to spring from this simple necessity which bears upon the primitive state of man, we may expect to find in every powerful state an architectural element of vast importance. If we look at that of Rome, we shall discover a most striking example of the nature and extent of the dependence of the people upon foreign artists and artisans for their achievements. If in any part of the industrial and artistic life of the Roman people they may be said to have invented, it was in architecture. In so far as invention consists in the combination and development of existing elements, the Romans did, to a certain extent, devise new methods of structure and new styles of building. In several particulars we find in Rome —even in primitive Rome—the evidences of important departures from the prevailing methods in the architecture of the East and South.

Ability to build the strongest trait of Roman genius.

Take, for instance, the *arch* as an element of structure. It was thought for a long time that the Egyptians were entirely ignorant of the value and applications of this device. Recent investigations have tended to show, however, that at a very ancient period the builders of Egypt had some knowledge of the arch, but that for reasons which do not sufficiently appear, it was not employed by the great builders who produced the granite wonders of the Egypt of the Pharaohs. Neither were the Greeks acquainted with the arch—or, if acquainted at all, such knowledge was here again referable to a very early period. The entrance to the treasure-house of Atreus, uncovered by the workmen of Schliemann in our own generation, is a pointed arch; but the later works of the Greeks did not perpetuate this element of building. On the whole, it may be safely conjectured that there was something in the arch which offended the severe taste of the Egyptian and Grecian builders, and that for this reason it disappeared wholly from their styles.

Evolution of the arch as an element in structure.

In Rome we have the same early appearance of the arch; but here it was retained and developed, and ultimately transmitted to modern Europe. The Cloaca Maxima, to which we have fre-

quently referred, is an enduring proof that the arch was known and skillfully employed in Italy at a very remote period. It thus remained for the Romans to adopt, perpetuate, amplify, and improve a principle of architecture which had been known, but rejected, by the Egyptians, the Greeks, and even by the Assyrians. If the reason above assigned for the rejection of the arch by the Greeks be correct, we may discover also the reason of its retention by the Romans. The latter people were not likely to sacrifice *strength* for *beauty*. So valuable an element of structure as the arch once introduced would be retained and expanded with a view to permanency and strength, notwithstanding its rejection by the finer taste of the Eastern builders.

The arch adopted and perfected by Roman builders.

OLD ETRUSCAN MASONRY—MOUTH OF CLOACA MAXIMA AT THE TIBER.
Drawn by R. Puttner.

Such facts as that to which we here refer may sometimes appear of minor importance to the reader of history; but not so. Observe how the fact in question enters into the whole civil polity of the Roman republic and the empire. One of the means by which Roman authority is to be disseminated and maintained in its integrity, even to the borders of Europe and as far east as the Euphrates, is the construction of roads. The student knows well how far from Rome her great thoroughfares were carried. He knows how those imperial highways were built, how broad and straight they were, how they were paved with immovable stones, how the roadway was graded across hills and valleys and over roaring rivers, to the end that the legions of the republic might march forth with clanging tread, and return when the war was over with ease and expedition and proper triumph to the central city.

Relation of the arch to the civilization of the Romans.

But how should Rome carry her great roads across valleys and lowlands and over rapid rivers?—how, but by means of tremendous causeways supported by the arch? As matter of fact such were the means adopted; and at this day in many parts of Europe the remains of the tremendous energies displayed in the Roman roads testify to the wisdom of the builders in the employment of the arch as an element of the greatest durability and strength. The very same thing was done in constructing those enormous and everlasting aqueducts with which Rome was wont to supply herself with wholesome water. By Rome we do not mean the capital city only, but all of the great

Evidences throughout Europe of Roman structure.

cities which were brought under her sway, not only in Italy, but in the East, and also north of the Alps. It is the exception for the modern traveler not to find in connection with the sites of the ancient imperial cities of Southern Europe the ruins of one of those mighty aqueducts through which in times of Roman grandeur the floods of fresh water poured a limitless supply into every metropolis—and every aqueduct was supported by the arch as its principal element of structure, as its main assurance of strength and durability.

ROMAN HIGHWAY AND RUINS OF CASTLE.—Drawn by Bocher, from a photograph.

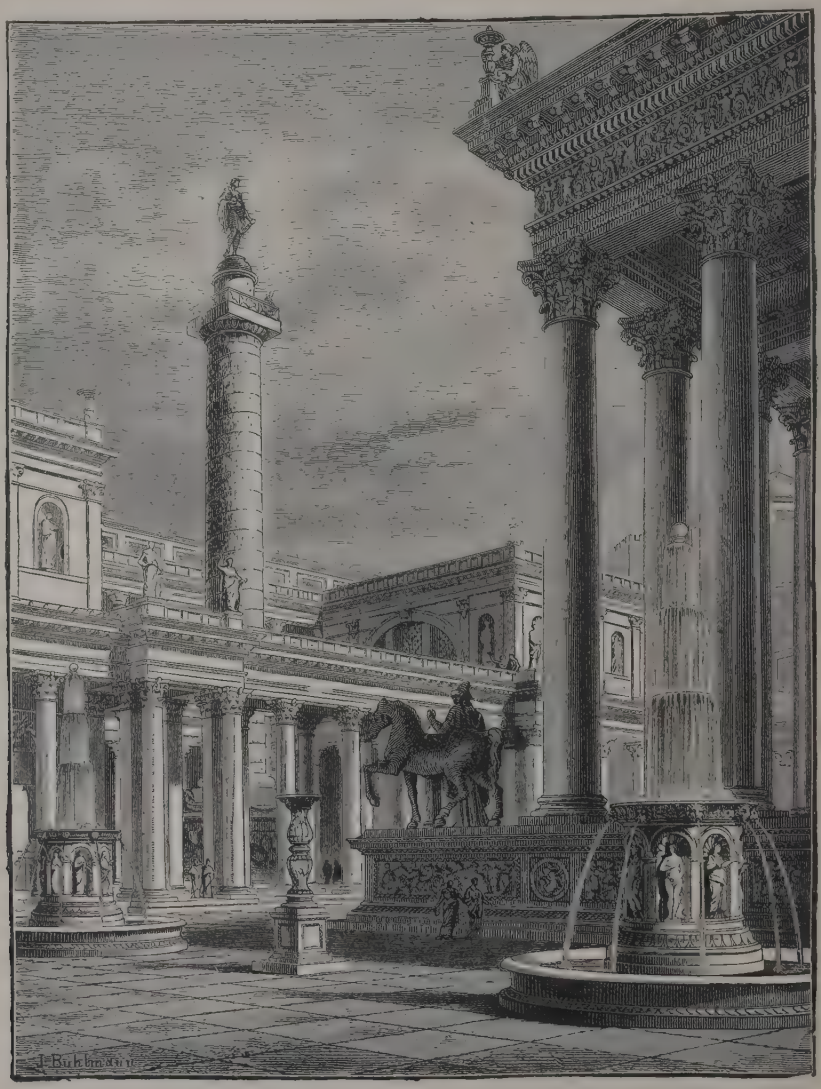
To this extent, then, the architecture of Rome may be said to have been original; but in all of its other leading particulars it was derived: derived first of all from the Etruscans. For from that people, in the beginning, the Roman style of building, mean and low, called Tuscan, was deduced. The primitive architects from beyond the Tiber carried over into Latium their ancient style, and this became for some centuries the prevailing type of structure in the city. To a certain extent the Roman builders modified, but can scarcely be said to have improved, the Tuscan style. The old theater of Marcellus at Rome, especially the lowest story, and the temple of Cora, forty miles distant, have preserved for modern inspection specimens of this oldest type of building.

Character and examples of the Tuscan style.

It has been claimed that the Tuscan itself was a degenerate form of Grecian architecture; that the architects of Etruria were unable to preserve the elegance and beauty of the original, but that they did preserve enough of the principal features to impose them on the Romans as their primitive style of structure. In course of time, however, the Romans, by war and other forms of intercourse, familiarized themselves with the Doric and Ionic architecture of

Greek architecture becomes the prevailing type.

Magna Græcia, and afterwards directly with the magnificent temples and other public buildings of the Greeks. From these sources were derived the elements which were employed by the Roman builders. We may not suppose that the Romans remained dependent upon foreigners for the actual ability to construct. They were able to learn; and in course of time Rome abounded with architects of her own race who were able to compete with the foreign builders. Now it was that the Corinthian column was introduced in the West, and became ever afterwards the standard feature of the architectural monuments of Italy.

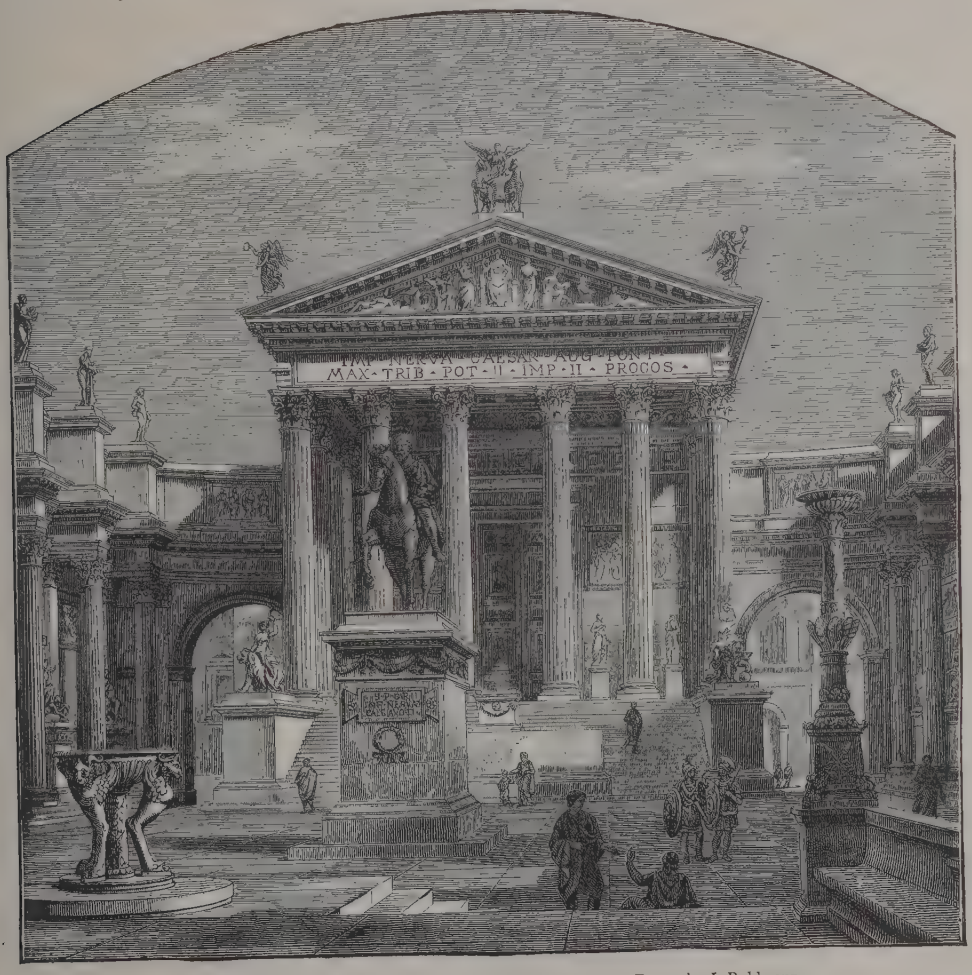


ROMAN STRUCTURE.—Forum and Column of Trajan, Restored.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

We might well pause to note briefly

the evolution of the column to its final efflorescence in the times of the Roman empire. It was a product of the genius of the Hamitic race; but the civilization of the Aryan nations brought it to perfection. So far as usefulness was concerned, the bottom idea of the column is a pillar of support, but its ideal element is derived from the tree. Out of these two fundamental concepts the whole development has taken place. In another part of the present work we shall see to what extent the column flourished in the hands of the Egyptians. In the preceding chapter we have noted its use and expansion in the hands of the architects of Greece. We have remarked the stages of the development from the plain Doric, massive and simple, into the Ionic, and finally into the Corinthian order, which was the limit of ornamentation permissible by the canon of the Greeks.

Evolution of columnar structure in Greece and Rome.



ROMAN STRUCTURE.—Temple of Pallas, Restored.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

Hellenic taste was severe and chaste in all respects, but particularly in the

matter of structure. It sought for effect by simplicity and not by elaboration. In the very best ages of Greek building the Ionic style was the most ornate which was permitted by the classical tastes of the people. It will be conceded that the Romans merely adopted the column—accepted it, first from the hands of the Etruscans, and afterwards from the hands of the Greeks. But they accepted to modify. It is in dispute to the present day whether the Roman varieties of building are entitled to be called distinct styles. The type which they chose was the Corinthian, as being most ornate, therefore most befitting the luxurious tastes of the Roman people. But even the Corinthian style was not sufficiently elaborate to meet the demands of Rome. The Roman Corinthian became at once more highly efflorescent than any that had preceded it; and then followed what is known as the Composite style, in which ingenuity would fain torture from combination certain effects, particularly in the capital, more ornate and complicated than any that had preceded. It was in this composite order that the acme of columnar development was reached, but it was the acme of luxury and ornamentation rather than the acme of sound taste and beauty. These had been attained before. The chastity of the Greek column as exhibited in the Doric and Ionic was by its conversion into the Corinthian order changed to tawdriness and luxurious flummery; and these qualities, transmitted to after times, have entailed on modern Europe certain architectural vices from which she has not yet recovered.

High ornamentation the characteristic of Roman taste.

It was, then, the Corinthian order of architecture that the Romans cultivated and developed. There was a Roman Ionic order and also a Roman Doric, but neither was brought to any degree of perfection. In fact, as we have said, the Roman eye was unable to discover in the chaste proportions and simple beauty of the Doric and Ionic styles anything to satisfy—anything to please. It was from the basis of an already highly expanded Corinthian order that all the noted architectural evolution of the Roman race was effected.

The Corinthian order preferred by the Roman architects.

We are here speaking of architecture not as an objective fact, but as an exponent of the genius and taste of the Roman race. We are looking at it simply as an expression in form of the subjective concepts and intellectual capabilities of that great people. The reader must assist us by bearing in mind the fact that in ethnic history the objective forms of civilization are considered as merely so many tangibilities of the intellectual and moral powers of mankind. It is sought in all such studies to deduce by an inverted syllogism, the premises of which consist of the material aspects of civilization, certain valid conclusions with regard to the evolution of the human mind in different ages and conditions of the world.

Architecture an exponent of intellectual and moral states.

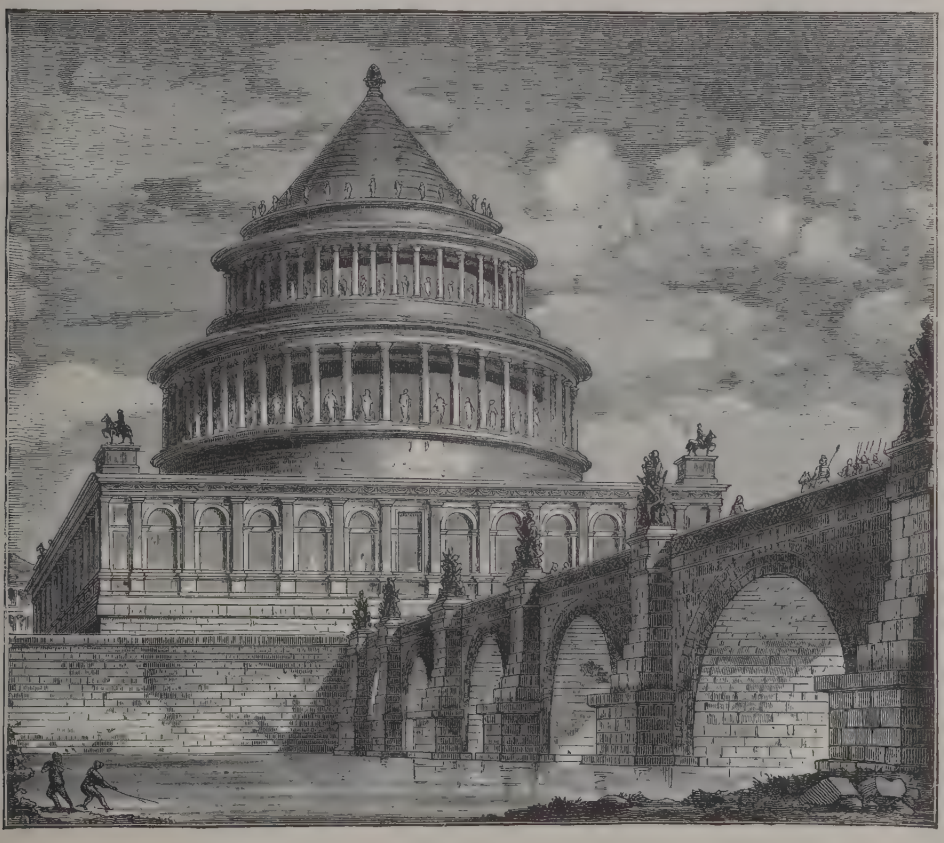
Nevertheless, it is occasionally of interest even in an ethnic history to note specific external facts as of peculiar interest in the general study. One of these facts upon which we might well dwell for a moment is the Roman column. Had the traveler from a distant land entered Rome in the days of imperial splendor, he should have seen one of the most magnificent and solidly built cities ever constructed by the human race. In this great mass of architecture, at least in all its grander parts, the predominant feature, the determin-

The Corinthian the predominant feature of classical Rome.

ing element, was this same Corinthian column, many times evolved into what was called the composite order, but always fundamentally the same. Into this column the genius of the architects of Rome and, as we have seen, much of the antecedent genius of two or three more intellectual races than the Romans had already entered. Its proportions and general character had been determined by a canon of criticism which in its turn had been produced by the added judgments of many artists in different lands. What, then, was the column which Rome brought to its most ornate development?

General character and analysis of the composite column.

It was the principal or central feature in the front, or façade, of the great classical buildings of antiquity. It rested below upon a part of the structure called the stylobate, and bore above another part called the entablature. It was the peculiarity of Roman architecture that the stylobate, or base, of the front of the façade was of unusual height. In the triumphal arches which Rome was wont to erect in commemoration of great men and great events this feature is most pronounced. In such structures the stylobate has a height of four, or even five, diameters. In all such measurements the diameter of the column is taken as unity. In other buildings the stylobate



ROMAN STRUCTURE.—Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castle of Sant' Angelo), Restored.—Drawn by C. Reiss.

was only two and a half or three diameters in height. It consisted for the most part of a series of moldings forming a substantial base, from which the columns rose. There was sometimes a single or even double plinth under the base of the moldings, and on the coping there was what is called a "block course," on which rested the bases of the columns. The latter device was intended to lift the column at the bottom, so that the beholder standing in front of the edifice might see the entire length and height of the base and the shaft.

Special features and proportions of the column.

The column itself was divided into three parts: the base, the shaft, and the capital. The height bore a constant relation to the unit of measurement, being nine and a half or ten diameters. The base was generally a half diameter in height, consisting first of a square member, or plinth, and then of several members of a circular form, diminishing in breadth from the bottom. The base was the least conspicuous of all the parts, and was, perhaps, less varied in the hands of the Romans than any other member of the whole façade. The breadth of the base was greater than that of the column, having an extreme width ranging from a diameter and a third to a diameter and four ninths. The shaft of the column may be regarded as the principal member. It diminished regularly toward the top by one eighth of a diameter. It was fluted, or scalloped out, in semicircular grooves, having elevations between, which were called fillets. Each flute had four times the breadth of the fillet. The flutes of a column were almost invariably twenty-four in number, and were only omitted when the materials used would not admit of such treatment. When granite, porphyry, cipolin, and other substances of the kind were employed, as they were occasionally, the columns had a smooth exterior surface, being simply cylinders of dressed stone, tapering in the same ratio given above.

Parts and measurements of the capital.

The height of the capital was one and one eighth diameters. From this rule there was some variation, a few of the capitals being lower. The capital itself consisted of several members. Around the circumference were two rows, or bands, of acanthus leaves. In each row there were eight leaves placed side by side, branching outwards and not touching at the edges. This made each leaf cover three flutes in the column below. The leaves were arranged symmetrically with respect to the upper part of the capital and the entablature above. That is, the eye of the beholder, as he stood in front of the edifice, would discover an equal number of leaves on each side of the column. The top member of the capital, immediately under the entablature, was the abacus. It had a height of one seventh of the whole capital. The lower row of acanthus leaves had a height of two sevenths of the whole, and the second row had two thirds the height of the lower. Thus through all parts a principle of proportion, carefully determined by the experiences and artistic sense of ages, was extended; and though there were many departures in the details from the exact standard, the general proportions were invariably retained.

Roman mind and purpose revealed in architectural style.

In all this we are able again to discover something of that regularity, precision, and love of order for which the Roman mind had always been noted from its first emergence in the mythical ages. It was a characteristic that was carried instinctively into all the details of the practical arts as well as into the management of civil society. In fact, the principle

can not be too strongly enforced, that the life of a people is whole and consistent in all its ramifications and methods. It might not be pressing the inquiry too far to aver that an inconsistency in the life of a people is impossible—which is to say that when all the facts, the instincts, the peculiarities, the antecedents, the forces of the environment, the peculiar circumstances of development, and the extraneous influences to which a given people have been subjected are taken into consideration, no actual inconsistency can be discovered; no one circumstance in the national life be out of concord with all the rest.

ROMAN STRUCTURE—TEMPLE OF NERVA.
Drawn by H. Clerget, from a photograph.

Until the rise and expansion of Rome, a single leading fact had been apparent in all the architecture of the East, whether Hamitic, Semitic, or Aryan. This fact was the limitation of building to a few leading purposes. The structure was in some sense a public phenomenon. The Egyptians built temples and tombs. Besides these two varieties of architecture and their concomitants, it could scarcely be said that Egypt had an architecture. All private building was doubtless of so low, insignificant, and temporary a kind as to pass away with the age in which it arose. High above all private enterprise, however, towered the two great facts, the temple

Eastern building had respect to public uses only.

and the tomb; and the ruins of the one and the pointed summit of the other are still seen in the horizon of Northeastern Africa.

The Semitic races also had two principal forms of building: the temple and the palace. In some cases the one predominated, and in other countries the other. Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia limited their efforts to the construction of abodes for their gods and their kings. In the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris it would be impossible, as in the valley of the Nile, to discover even a hint of those private edifices which must have been a part of the common life. Great was the gap in all these countries between the almost imperishable structure of stone, grand in proportion and massive in masonry, and the small square earthen hovel in which the common lot held its career and exhibited its poor activities.

Semitic architecture looked to palaces and temples.

This peculiar feature in the architecture of the East, its virtual limitation to temples and palaces and tombs, was carried westward by the migrating nations, and became under their patronage the characteristic of building in Asia Minor and in Greece. In the latter country there were already apparent certain signs of the new order—evidences that the range of structure was destined to extend to a greater variety of subjects. It remained for the Romans, however, to carry the principles of an enlarged and grand architecture into private buildings, and to vary the application of the building art to conform to the almost endless variety of edifices which a great and vigorous community must demand.

Greeks and Romans depart from Oriental standards.

Structure is the continent of life. The body, in the first place, is the continent of the individual life. The house is the continent of the life of the family. So the principle may be carried upwards until we have for society a house. Moreover, the house must conform to its inhabitants. The shells of the *gasteropoda* are shaped to the humble people within. It is only a part of that universal consistency which extends through the whole domain of life and organism. In Rome the robustness of the common life demanded a form of structure almost as extensive and substantial relatively as were the buildings of the kings and the gods.

Structure to be regarded as the continent of life.

The reader must remember that kingship was presently abolished, utterly expelled from Roman society. With the disappearance of the king, with the flight of the Tarquin in that old mythical dawn, the king-house, the palace, also fled. The houses of the deities remained and continued to expand in proportion with the concepts of the people during the centuries of the republic. But the common life, the great social life, the patrician life, aye, finally the plebeian life itself, expanded also; and the habitation of this life, the dwelling place, the private edifice which represented the common lot of man in the West expanded also, and became varied in its forms and uses to a degree hitherto unknown among the nations of the Old World.

Rome becomes the leader in architecture for private uses.

Herein it is possible to discern the hidden depths of progress among the nations of antiquity. In the horizon of the extreme East the common life was in no wise differentiated. It was simply a mass, capable of action only under the foot of power. Hence the king in the pagan world rose and stood above the cowering multitudes. In those fecund

Empire and superstition had their thrones in the East.

valleys of Africa and Asia where civilization probably began, we see the spectral outlines of these two great facts, *empire* and *superstition*, rising like gigantic figures above the debased millions who toiled and suffered to maintain and glorify the very powers by which they were subjected.

It was out of this estate that the migratory movements of mankind began. The bolder spirits slipped from the domination and despotism of the old order, and drew after them the more progressive tribes in a movement to the West. The farther the movement extended the more completely did the common man escape from the old oppressions by which he had been reduced to servitude. As we have said, Italy was the West of the ancient world.

Migratory movements of mankind signify emancipation.

When the Aryan tribes poured into the peninsula they may have been savage enough in their manners, but they were also free. They had become individual, and we can see the inevitable form which the new social structure created by them would assume. There must needs be in such a society a tremendous common life, hostile to power, restless under any form of domination, expressing itself in every way as the leading social element of the state, and particularly compelling the architecture of the country in which it arose to do deference to the existence and wants of the common lot by extending, amplifying, and perfecting all the private structures requisite for the welfare of such a people and the maintenance of such a civilization.

We may accept this principle as lying at the bottom of the vastly varied architecture of the Roman race. It was the concomitant circumstance of the republic —of that patrician and plebeian form of life which would no longer brook the ascendency of absolutism, whether of an Oriental monarchy or a pagan superstition. We must not, however, suppose that the transformation was so extensive and complete and immediate as might be inferred from the foregoing description of the process. Here again, as ever, we must be on our guard against the too literal interpretation, the too exact application of literary description to the tangible facts of human society. Social processes are always incomplete. They are partial, not reaching the full logical results which would be expected from the exact deductions of the syllogism. The change in the architectural aspect in Rome from that of the East, the extension of the former to all manner of private buildings, was sufficiently striking; but it was not complete. To a certain extent the palace and the temple continued as the highest types of Roman architecture, just as they had been the only types in the architecture of Greece and of Asia.

Varied architecture implies differentiation of races.

The variation from the old restricted order of buildings extended, moreover, into the selection of materials. Egypt built simply of granite. It is to this circumstance and her rainless climate as much as to the perfection of her structure that the enduring character of her monuments must be referred. Greece opened her marble quarries, as we have seen, and drew from them the materials of her elegant and enduring architecture. The oldest building in Italy was that of the Etruscans, in their own country first, and afterwards in Latium. The building also which was practiced in Magna Græcia had stone masonry as its bottom fact. The temples of the south were generally of marble, and the

The Romans vary the selection of building materials.

materials for the primitive structures of Rome and Etruria were drawn from the rock quarries of the country. But with the progress and expansion of the Roman race the principle of variation as to the intent and application of buildings was carried into the selection of materials; and henceforth all manner of building substances were freely employed in the architecture of Italy.

ble; and the exposed parts of most of the private buildings, especially the fronts, were also of stone. But the general appearance of universal stone and marble work must be referred to the stucco with which the exterior surface of the buildings was covered. Underneath this covering were the real materials, and these were by no means exclusively from the stone quarries.

THE FORUM AT ROME IN PRESENT CONDITION.

A great popular misapprehension exists in this respect. It is customary to speak of republican Rome, of imperial Rome, as a stone-built and marble-built city. The illustrations which modern art have created of the imperial city represent it as a magnificent array of stone and marble. Of course, such materials did abound. It was the usage of the architects to construct the façades of the palaces and villas of mar-

Extensive use of stone and marble in Roman buildings.

As matter of fact, brick building was greatly in excess of stonework and structure of marble. The aqueducts, palaces, villas, baths, and temples of Rome were nearly all built of brick so far as their principal parts were concerned. If we glance at the ruins of the Eternal City we shall find a few columns and friezes of marble or granite, but no more. Some of the remaining ancient buildings are of a variety of

Bricks also largely employed in leading edifices.

stone called *travertine;* but the prevailing ruin is of brick. Of the stone just referred to, the travertine, the Coliseum was built, as was also the mausoleum of Hadrian. The temple of Fortuna Virilis was of the same material, and so were those famous ancient bridges which spanned the Tiber. The columns of the Pantheon, both external and internal, are of marble, as are also the exposed parts of the arches of Titus and Constantine. The two great columns of Trajan and of Marcus Aurelius are also of marble; but the palace of the Cæsars was constructed, in all its major parts, of bricks. The Pantheon, too, with the exception of the colonnade, was built of the same material, as were also the temples of Peace, of Venus, and of Minerva.

TEMPLE OF FORTUNA VIRILIS AND HOUSE OF RIENZI.
Drawn by H. Clerget, from a photograph.

Many times the walls, and especially the fronts of the edifices, were faced with marble or freestone from the Italian quarries. The great baths to which we referred on a preceding page—the magnificent thermæ of Titus, of Caracalla, and of Diocletian—were constructed of brick. The city walls, those *altæ mœnia Romæ* of Vergil, were not of stone, but of brick. The splendid villa of Hadrian and that of Mæcenas at Tivoli were of the same material, and so also in general were the palaces of the Roman emperors and the homes of the patricians, whether for permanent residence in the city or at the summer resorts on the coast. The exhumations at Herculaneum and Pompeii have shown us the style of building prevalent in the first century of our era. The houses are constructed of alternate double courses of brick and of stone or lava.

City walls and many villas of brick structure.

In short, everywhere throughout Italy there was an adaptation of various native materials, and particularly of burnt bricks for the purposes of building. So that the same variety which appeared in the buildings themselves—the same extension of the principles of architecture from palaces, temples, and tombs to the abodes of the common people, to aqueducts, roads, walls, and indeed all manner of structure—was noticeable correlatively in the variety of materials which the Romans employed in their edifices.

One of the most notable features in the tangible life of the Roman people was the element of persistency, of durability, of resistance to the assaults of hazard and time. From the earliest ages the

Romans took counsel of the conditions of perpetuity. The things fragile were contemned by the race; only the things massive and strong were chosen and admired. Among the devices invented by men for giving solidity and durability to structure, none have surpassed the conception of the displacement of the statues of the ancient gods of the Roman race from the niches of the dome and the setting up in their stead of the statues of the saints of the Roman Church, little alteration may be discovered in any part from the conditions in which the temple stood in the days of its erection.

Durability the predominant feature of Roman structure.

FAÇADE OF THE PANTHEON.

methods employed by the architects of Rome. In no other country—not even in Egypt—can the traveler so well familiarize himself with the actual presence of the ancient world as in the former seats of Roman power. The best preserved monument of antiquity is the Pantheon, in the Campus Martius. There it stands as in the first days of its Augustan grandeur. With the exception of the displacement of the statues of the ancient gods of the Roman race from the niches of the dome and the setting up in their stead of the statues of the saints of the Roman Church, little alteration may be discovered in any part from the conditions in which the temple stood in the days of its erection. Nearly nineteen centuries have beaten upon it without visible effect. It is still the Pantheon—pride of ancient Rome.

> "Simple, erect, severe, austere, sublime—
> Shrine of all saints and temple of all gods,
> From Jove to Jesus—spared and blest by time."

It is possible that the severe spirit of the Roman race was reflected in another characteristic of architecture. The Greeks avoided the circular form in

their buildings. Very rarely in the ground plan of Greek structures, perhaps never outside of theaters and other buildings designed for the auditorium or the public games, do we find the circle. But in Roman architecture there was a growing preference for this form. Such preference was a departure from all the

The circular form in building cultivated by the Romans.

to this principle we add the absence of the arch, we may discover the necessity for the column as the universal means of support. We have seen how the Romans, if possibly they did not introduce, at least adopted the arch as an element of structure. This enabled them to reduce the number of columns and to

Greeks prefer the rectangular plan for edifices.

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AND COLISEUM.—From *Magazine of Art.*

old practices of the Aryan race, and in general from the practices of the East. Egypt had no circular structures. They were wanting in Assyria. Nineveh, Susa, Persepolis—none of the great ruins of the Eastern world presented such forms of building.

We have shown the strong preference of the Greek architects for the rectangle as the ground plan of their edifices. If make the arch a means of support. In general, the beholder may note a striking difference between the multicolumnar appearance of classical Greek buildings and the more open effect in Roman structures produced by the reduction of the colonnade.

It was an extension of this principle that led to the Roman preference for circular buildings—not, indeed, to the

rejection of the rectangular form, but merely to an architectural variation. The temple of Venus, in Rome, had a circular dome. The temple of Minerva Medica was also circular, having a diameter of one hundred and ten feet. The Pantheon is one of the most conspicuous types. These buildings were usually, in the better ages of Roman architecture, of extreme solidity. Many of them survive in tolerable perfection to the present day. Those of Pompeii and Herculaneum have been uncovered and found in tolerable perfection. The Romans, like the Greeks, availed themselves of

Striking example of circular building at Rome.

INTERIOR OF THERMÆ.—Drawn by H. Clerget, from an original description.

examples of this form of structure. The beautiful tomb of Cecilia Metella is described in Byron's verse as a stern *round* tower of other days. The mausoleum of Hadrian, now the Castle of Sant' Angelo, though rectangular in the ground plan is a circular edifice. The theaters and amphitheaters were copied from those of Greece, though greatly expanded, enlarged, and varied from the original the hillside as the best situation for their theaters, but instead of cutting the structure, as did the Greeks, from the native rock, the Romans excavated and then built.

Throughout the empire the remains of such edifices are frequent. No Roman city was perfect without its theater. The traveler notes the outlines of such buildings not only in Italy, but in France

and Sicily, and indeed in every land over which the authority and civilization of Rome were extended. They are found at Verona, at Pola, Taormina, at Arles, and in many other imperial cities. The same is true of the amphitheaters, which were of great size. That of Verona has dimensions of four hundred and four by five hundred feet. At Nimes, in Languedoc, the old Roman amphitheater is still in such preservation that public shows are celebrated in it as in the times of the Cæsars.[1]

Abundance of Roman theaters; amphitheater of Nimes.

One other point remains to be noted relative to Roman architecture viewed as an index of the genius and spirit of the people. This is the herculean character of many of the works which were undertaken and generally completed by the builders of the Roman race. In estimating such enterprises we must ever make allowance for the character of the age with respect to scientific learning. Be it ever remembered that science had not yet appeared as a guide to the endeavor of man. Take mathematics as an example. Without a knowledge of mechanics, of physics, of the calculus, of physical apparatus such as the theodolite, and more particularly of the mathematical formulæ of surveying and engineering, how could a great aqueduct be constructed, or a great highway be carried with precision for a hundred miles? How could the strength of building materials be estimated, or accurate proportions be determined in the plans of palaces and temples? The engineering of the times must have been empirical—the result of practice and observation, and of laws the mathematical meaning of which was not apprehended.

Wonder excited by Roman structure in an unscientific age.

Still greater is the wonder when we come to reflect upon the fact that in the times of the Roman republic men knew nothing of the subordination of force. What we call "the laws of nature" were as much a riddle as the visage of the sphinx. It is virtually impossible for men at the present day to realize the condition of men in an age when the application of the simple mechanical powers such as the lever and the wheel marked the extreme limit of the dominion of man over the forces of the natural world. In such an age steam was a vapor. Even the gravitating power of water and its ready action in turning wheels had not been discovered. In this direction the capricious wind bearing upon the outspread sail was the limit of the application of power.

The laws of nature unknown to the men of Rome.

Not a single explosive was known to the men of Rome. In fact, no part of that multifarious scientific apparatus by which man now so easily seizes upon and controls the forces of physical nature had been discovered or applied in

Their want of scientific knowledge heightens our admiration.

[1] Historically considered, the amphitheater at Nimes is one of the most interesting places in France, if not in Western Europe. Its estimated capacity for spectators was twenty-three thousand. When the country was overrun by the Goths, they made a lodgment in the structure and converted it into a fortress. Afterwards the Saracens did the same. It was one of their strongholds in the defense of the country against the Franks. During the whole of the Middle Ages it was a fortress, but after the Crusades it began to be a place of residence for the peasants. At the beginning of the present century the place attracted the attention of the government, and an examination by a commission revealed the fact that nearly two thousand persons had established themselves within the amphitheater as a home. In 1809 it was cleared of its inhabitants by order of the prefect of the department, and in 1858 it was repaired and restored as nearly as possible to its original condition. From that time forth the original arena has remained a place of public amusement, and, as has been said in the text, has been recently used for the exhibition of sports and as a seat of fairs for the people of Languedoc.

the age when Cicero thundered against the oppressor of Africa, or when Julius came and saw and conquered. How, then, could the monster works of Rome have been prosecuted to a successful issue? In all parts of Italy and throughout the broad and wild domains of Western Europe, even across the British islands, were drawn the straight, white lines of those great military roads that rang under the iron tread of the Roman soldiery, session of explosives, the tremendous thoroughfares carried out from Rome through all Southern Italy, to the Adriatic on the east, to the valley of the Po on the north, thence across Greece to Philippi beyond the mountains, through France, and to the limits of Western Europe, were—when viewed correlatively to the scientific attainments of the age—works in comparison with which the tunnels of Mont Cenis and the

BRIDGE OF SANT' ANGELO, WITH ST. PETER'S IN THE BACKGROUND.

and to the present day the lines are still discoverable. Earthworks and walls, aqueducts and highways, sewers and bridges, the proportions and extent of which might well stagger the courage of the best engineers and architects of modern times, were undertaken with an energy and completed with a perfection which has not been equaled by the works of any other race of men. Making allowance for the absence of mathematical tables, of physical science, of geographical knowledge, and of the possession of explosives, the tremendous thoroughfares carried out from Rome through all Southern Italy, to the Adriatic on the east, to the valley of the Po on the north, thence across Greece to Philippi beyond the mountains, through France, and to the limits of Western Europe, were—when viewed correlatively to the scientific attainments of the age—works in comparison with which the tunnels of Mont Cenis and the Hoosac, the canals of Suez and Panama, the bridge over East river, and even the Pacific railway itself sink into insignificance.

There was thus introduced into the architecture of Rome an element of practicality, of utility, of value, as well as of durability and perfection of structure. It were not far wide of the truth to ascribe to the Roman people the introduction of practicality into the world. We have noticed the absence of the ideal

The Roman race brings practicality into the world.

quality in the race. The presence of the practical quality may be insisted on and emphasized. In this respect again the Romans are brought into comparison with the peoples of Mesopotamia. The latter went as far as commercial utilitarianism. Thus also did the Phœnicians and the Greeks. It was what may be called the adaptations of intercourse which were present among the nations of the Eastern Mediterránean. They sailed abroad and traded on the coasts. But Rome carried the principle inland, and amplified it among the people. She carried it into the arts, and exemplified it in all of her industries. The whole physical apparatus of her civilization was an exponent of the practical element in the Roman constitution, an evidence of the idea of utility dominant over the refined concepts of an intellectual life. It was with difficulty that even the great Romans of the last century of the republic, when wealth had been amassed, when luxury and ease had come in, when the learning of the Greeks had been copied and imitated in every part, could be drawn aside from those practical commonplace pursuits which the ancestors of the race had followed, or could be brought by discipline to prefer the pursuits of intellectual greatness.

CHAPTER LXV.—RELIGION OF THE ROMANS.

AMONG a people constituted as the Romans it was difficult to maintain the ascendency of ideas. Beliefs that had no practical demonstration in the everyday life of the people suffered decline and became extinct in the Roman mind. Thus in course of time did nearly all of the religious and superstitious ideas which had prevailed in early Rome pass away with the development of the race. It is doubtful whether among any other people the maintenance of the ancient beliefs and practices was so factitious and mechanical as among the Romans in the ages of their power and grandeur.

We have seen in the preceding pages, devoted to the architectural development of the Roman race, that the temples continued, as they had been in early ages, the highest expression of the building skill of the Roman architects. The relative rank and importance of such structures was maintained to the close of the republican régime, but not longer. Already before that epoch the hold of all religious ideas upon the minds and dispositions of the people had begun to relax; and after the institution of the empire the process was accelerated until the old religious bonds were entirely loosed. The Pantheon, coïncident in time with the beginning of the imperial era, was the last attempt of the Roman race to maintain the grandeur and reality of the ancient paganism.

Relaxation of religious ideas with growth of Roman race.

It will now be of interest to go back to first principles and review the evolution of the Roman system of religion. Perhaps the word system ought to be dropped, inasmuch as the first practices of the race were so few and simple as to be unworthy of that name. The Latin and Umbro-Sabellian tribes brought with them into the West some frag-

Primitive Latin concepts of the supernal powers.

ments of the religious notions and practices of the old Aryan race; but they were not many; not elaborate. Vergil had the penetration to discern the primitive condition. In his sketch of the shipwrecked folks of Priam, to whom he assigns the founding of the Latin race, he notices the religious emblems which they brought with them to the Lavinian coast. True enough, he puts into the prayers of Æneas—much given to prayer—something of the phraseology of the Greeks. He makes him address the Olympian gods in appeals which are truly Hellenic in their form and manner, but the treasures of the sea-shattered ships of the Trojan fugitives do not include any of the symbols peculiar to the Olympian worship. On the contrary, there are found in those shiploads of what may be called the seed corn of the Roman race only two simple emblems of religion. These were the famous *Lares* and the *Penates*, the names of which have reverberated through all the songs and stories of the Latin races.

ROMAN CONCEPT OF THE FOUNDER OF THE RACE.—ÆNEAS AND AGAMEMNON.

If we look intently at the Lares and the Penates of the old folk of Latium, we shall find them to be the symbols of a very simple and easily apprehended religion. In common with the other Aryan tribes, the Romans discovered the living forces of the natural world; but there were only certain of those forces which affected their sympathy and

Origin and offices of the ancestral Penates.

interest. These they raised at a very early date, by the same mythologizing process which the Greeks had so elaborately employed, to the rank of divine powers, or deities. But Roman sympathies were not at first drawn forth to the greater processes and aspects of the material world. We have insisted upon the evolution of the household as a peculiarly Roman phenomenon. Since the house and the family became the centers of Roman affection and interest, the man of Latium sought to gather about his household those divine powers which were auspicious to its preservation. These powers he personified under the name of the Penates. They were his household gods. They belonged to the same rank of beings as the nymphs and satyrs and fauns which the Greek imagination had turned loose in the woods and valleys and by the river banks. In such a category of beings the Romans felt little interest; but in his Penates, those divine beings that hovered over his hearth and house, he found sympathy and comfort and protection.

The Lares, or "Lords;" evolution of the household worship.

Closely associated with these were the Lares, that is, "the Lords"—for so the word is interpreted. It were difficult to discover the precise genealogy of this class of deities. They were in large measure peculiar to the Roman race. The Lords were the ancestors of the Romans. They were the souls of those departed heroes from whom the Latin stirp had been derived. It was a true ancestral worship, very like one feature of the cult of Egypt, and identical in its leading features with the worship of ancestors as practiced by the Chinese and other Orientals of the present day.

No doubt the system began in the simple veneration of the child for its father. That the household should be greatly shocked in the event of the father's death is a human characteristic so simple as to require no interpretation. In such a catastrophe the excitement of the filial affections would easily lead to the apotheosis of the departed parent. The subjective state would be changed from simple veneration to actual worship. This disposition and practice the Latin race brought with it to the West; and the strong family tie, the preponderance of the household over every other element in Roman life, led to the perpetuation and development of the Laric form of worship, and the establishment of a proper ceremonial for its observance. The memory and the presence of the Penates and the Lares were constantly enforced in the Roman home by the effigies of the good powers unseen, which hovered over that focus of Roman life. On every rustic fireboard, in every peasant's home, were seen the little images which attested the disposition of the Roman people to adore their progenitors and their faith in the guardian spirits which protected the hearthstone from sacrilege and the house itself from the malignant powers that prowled about the world.

Olympian paganism not known to the primitive race.

It is probable that for hundreds of years after the settlement of the Aryan tribes in Central Italy their religion had this extent, and no more. It might be difficult to find any historical evidence that the Olympian system of paganism was at this epoch of development even known west of the Adriatic. The house worship was a simple practice. It coïncided with the temper of the primitive Latini and with the dispositions of their descendants until what time foreign intercourse brought in the suggestions of a more ornate and elaborate system of religious faith.

In the mythical ages, in the first centuries of the republic, it might be said that every Roman house was a place of worship. It had its altar. The father of the household officiated. The religious ceremonial was in a peculiar sense a part of the daily life of the primitive Roman peasant and of the citizen as well. The adoration of the Lares and the Penates was sincere and universal. The ceremonial was not at the first detached in any measure from the home administrations. This circumstance brings us to consider one of the remarkable features of the private and the public life of the Roman people. This is that they never in any period of their development regarded religion as a distinct institution of society. It was simply a *function* of society, and not an independent organic element.

Roman religion a function of family and state.

ROMAN RELIGION.—Procession of the Suovetaurilia.—Drawn by P. Beckert.

Something of the same disposition had been shown among the Greeks, but it remained for the Romans to form a religious concept which made the worship of the gods an office and not an institution in society. The principle had a double manifestation, first in its relation to the people of Old Rome, and afterwards in its connection with the Roman state. In Old Rome religion was simply a function of the family. As we have said, the father, afterwards the paterfamilias, was the priest. There was no separate order established. It required time and transformation to call forth a member of society with the particular right and duty of performing religious ceremonies.

Worship of the gods an office among Greeks and Romans.

This led to the second aspect, in which, under the republic, religion became a function of the state just as it had been a function of the household in the primitive ages. The public faith, whether as a system of belief or as organized into

form and ceremony, never had an independent existence under the auspices of the Roman race. The whole system was functional and dependent. This fact is particularly noticeable in the character of the Roman priesthood, or more properly the character of the Roman priests —for there was never a priesthood in any true sense of the word. Every Roman priest was an officer of the state. It was his duty, true enough, properly to perform the ceremonies of the national religion, but he was merely an officer in the same sense that the lictor and the prætor and the tribune of the people were officers. The idea of his possessing an independent right and of his being a member of an independent order in society never entered the Roman mind; nor was any such claim ever absurdly advanced by the priests themselves in the face of the universal understanding and sentiment of society.

Evolution of the Pontifex Maximus and his successor.

No sooner will the student of history have firmly grasped the principle here set forth than he will perceive by glancing to the future some of the reasons for the close association of Christianity with the imperial government of Rome. Aye, further on, we can perceive how, when that imperial government shall be shattered by the assaults of the northern nations, the Pontifex Maximus, under his new title of Bishop of Rome, will naturally remain as the head of secular society. He will be, under the working of ethnic laws, the remaining pillar of the ancient state. Him the barbarians, for religious and superstitious reasons, will not attack and dethrone. Him they will suffer to survive in the wreck of Rome; and in him, partly by his own assumptions and partly out of the logic of the situation, will spring and grow, in the same consciousness, the germs of the new secular and religious society of Southern Europe. But he will—such is the law and working of human nature—be careful that in the new order the religious power shall advance its claim to supremacy and domination over the civil and political organizations of incipient Europe. Hence the Papacy.

As the tribal Latini were transformed into Roman citizens, as Rome the city became Rome the state, the simple religion of the Albanian fathers began also, chiefly by the infections of foreign influence, to take on new aspects, to enlarge its Pantheon, and elaborate its ceremonies. It is said that about thirty divine beings were believed in by the Romans of the mythical ages. But all the ideal and practical parts of the early faith had remained a simple system that might be grasped and believed in even by Latin shepherds and Sabine farmers.

Ancient Albanian religion infected with new forms.

ROMAN ALTAR.
Drawn by V. Froer.

With the extension of her acquaintance among the cities of Magna Græcia,

PRIESTESS OF VESTA.—From the painting by E. Burne-Jones.

and with the beginnings of the intercourse of Rome with the Athenian Greeks, the Olympian hierarchy was imported and set down in Italy. It is probably true that to a certain extent the recollection of this system—aye, possibly its acceptance by the Romans—must be carried back to the ages of migration, when the Græco-Italic race was still in unity. But, as we have said, the Romans in the first ages after their settlement in Italy introduced and cultivated no other than the simple home religion suitable for the household and adapted to the unideal and unimaginative character of the people. Nor is it likely that when the Olympian hierarchy was instituted in the West the Romans ever understood it. The new system was showy, elaborate, spectacular; and the Romans were not insensible to these qualities. So the primitive religion opened out into a mythological paganism very like the theology of the Greeks.

Mythology of the Greeks imported into Italy.

From this time forth the religious system of Rome became a huge formality. It is doubtful whether during the last two centuries of the republic and under the imperial régime the Romans were in anywise morally restrained by the

The religion of the Romans becomes a huge formality.

dogmas and precepts of their faith. There was an observance of religious forms on all public occasions, and in every crisis of society the priest had an important part. A large number of officers were set apart by the senate or by election for the service of the temples and the general duties of the national religion, but it was a showy formalism, devoid of the sentiments with which the fathers of Rome had worshiped at their local altars.

The Flamens and priestly colleges of Rome.

Every god in these days—and the name of the gods was legion—had his temple and shrine. Each had his retinue of priests, who, as we have said, were civil officers of the state appointed to the work of religion. The priesthood of each deity constituted a college, at the head of which was a high priest, called the Flamen. His name signified "the kindler," or "the blower," for it was his duty to kindle the fire on the altar and to see that it was kept perpetually burning. The priests of the major gods, who had of course been honored with the greater temples, were more numerous and important. The worship of the Roman Jupiter was in some sense at the head of the whole system. His chief priest was the Flamen Dialis, whose appointment was for life, and who held a position of high honor in the state. The discipline which usage had indicated for the government of his life was especially severe, reminding one of the rules by which the Egyptian priesthood was governed.

Women admitted to participation in religious rites.

In common with the Phrygians and the Greeks—we might say, in common with all the Western Aryans—the Romans admitted women to participation in the rites of religion. But this principle was not of universal application. In the worship of Vesta, who was the guardian divinity of the house and home, the ministrations of women were freely admitted. This cult lay close alongside of the primitive faith of the race. It was deep down under the traditions on which the Olympians had come in and overshadowed the native gods. Six virgins were consecrated to attend the sacred fires on the altars of Vesta. They must be selected from the noblest families in all Rome. They must be chaste as the driven snow. Their term of service lasted for thirty years, during which time the strictest regard was had to the purity of the vestal's life. She must remain a virgin, and guard her chastity with the utmost care. One might suppose that this constituted a true order of priesthood—a religious, as distinguished from a civil, order; but not so.

Evolution of the pontifical office; the Maximus.

There was in Rome a company of religious officers, called the pontifices, whose original appointment was as distinctly secular as that of the lictors. To them, however, was assigned the general care of the religious worship of the city. It was their duty to see that all ceremonials were conducted in accordance with the traditional forms and usages. This college of priests had been in the first place constituted as a sort of street commission, the duties of which had special reference to the construction of bridges and crossings. They were the civil engineers of Rome. The two Latin words *pons*, "a bridge," and *facere*, "to make," gave the elements of the word *pontifices*. They were the bridgebuilders of primitive Rome; and bridgebuilding and the care of the national religion were duties not incompatible in the hands of the same officers—so said the judgment of Rome.

At the head of the pontifical col-

lege was the Pontifex Maximus, or the principal religious officer of the state. He was the bridgebuilder-in-chief, and also the high priest of Rome. It was to him that the superintendence of the vestal virgins was assigned—from which circumstance we may see clearly the complete intermingling of secular and religious functions in the Roman polity.

VESTAL SERVICE IN THE TEMPLE.

We may here pause again to note the strength and solidity which resulted from the principles of government just described. The fact that the officers of religion received their appointment from a common source with the officers of secular society bound the whole system in one. The priest was just as dependent upon the state as was the *comes stabuli*, or master of the horse. There was thus a perfect interlocking of the religious and civil powers in such manner as to give to Roman society that thing which Roman society always demanded, a complete unity of design and purpose. Over every subordinate institution rose the one great predominant idea of the state. The senate was a part of the state. The patrician order was a part; the plebeians were a part; the familia, by means of its relation with the gens, was a part; the tribe was a part, and the national religion was a part. No organization under the Roman theory of society presumed to contend with the state. The elements might war with each other; but the state was supreme and unassailable.

Strength secured by making the priesthood secular.

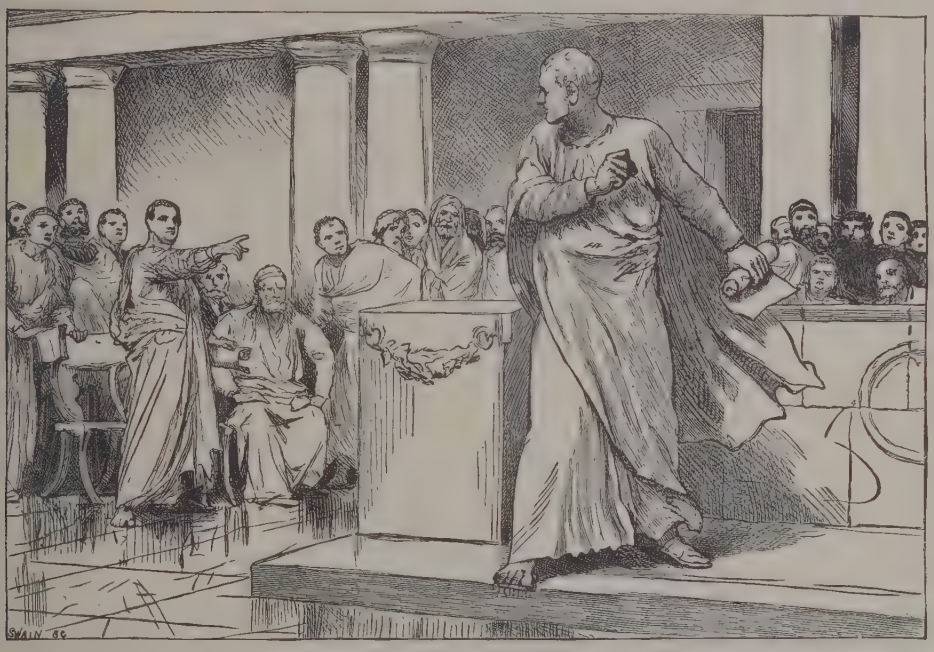
One feature of the religious belief of the Romans strongly indicates the antiquity of the race and its close association in some primitive age with the Persians and the Hindus. In the old religious faith of the Roman race there was a tinge of dualism—a shadow of that belief by which the powers of evil were set over, in the administration of the world, against the powers of good. It is probable that no such element of belief existed among the Greeks. Nor was the same to be discovered among the later dogmas which were accepted at Rome. But in the mythical ages there was a

System of dualism indicates affinity with Iranians.

popular faith in the existence of evil deities as well as good. The Lares were, as we have seen, the souls of ancestors; that is, of those good, heroic ancestors whose spirits still hovered in the world, to promote the happiness of their descendants. But over against the Lares were set the *Lemures*, or evil spirits, the souls of the ancient bad, who prowled around the abodes of the living to work out their malignant spite against mankind. They were the exact counterpart of the *Devas* believed in by the Iranians. As the latter were the enemies of the *Ahuras*, or spirits of the good, so the Lemures were the enemies of the good deities of the Roman race. Sometimes the name *Larvæ* was given to the Western Devas. Nor is it known whether the Larvæ were another class of beings created by the superstition, or whether they were merely the Lemures under another name.

In the use of this term Larvæ and its application, there may be discovered the remains of the ancient Eastern dogma of the transmigration of souls. The Larvæ may be regarded as the degraded, obscure, and ignominious shapes into which the evil beings of the past had been forced down by the power of fate, and in which they were permitted for the brief season of mortal life to torment and afflict the sons of men. In course of time, however, this most ancient dualistic feature of the Roman faith disappeared; and it is likely that a philosophical investigation of the condition of Roman belief in the times of republican and imperial grandeur would reveal few traces, if any, of the primitive superstition relative to the evil deities.

Theory of the Larvæ; the cult disappears.



TYPES OF THE PATRICIAN ORDER.—Catiline at Bay.

We have spoken above of the general supervision which the pontifices had over all religious beliefs and practices.

As officers, they determined the orthodoxy, both objective and subjective, of the Roman people. We have also seen how the same officers had civil functions to perform, and how, indeed, the civil functions were prior in time to the religious duties that were afterwards attached to the office. By the standard of modern times, it will appear almost ludicrous that the pontifices had also certain *literary* duties to which they must attend under the laws of the state. They were the custodians of the public documents, and had to them assigned the duty of writing the annals of the city. They produced and kept under their care the archives of the state, and were responsible to the state as the historians of current events. They were empowered to regulate the calendar and to fix the time, the occasion, and the circumstances of the annual festivals to which custom or the acts of the senate had given rise.

The pontifices become the state historians.

These multiple relations of the Roman pontifical officers with the other elements of civil society were not peculiar, but were in strict analogy with the various functions which other officers of the state must perform under the existing constitution. As we have said and repeated, every fiber of political, civil, and religious society was thus interlocked with every other fiber in a unity which it has required centuries completely to undo. Nor may we truly aver that to the present day the constitution of the Roman people has been entirely undone in any civilized state of Western Europe or the New World into which the legal principles of Rome have once entered.

Interlocking of offices gives strength to civil society.

The history of civilization is compelled, in noticing the development of every nation of men, to take into account the superstitions with which they have been afflicted. When we consider the uniformity of nature, the sublime regularity of all the processes of the physical universe, we may well be perplexed to account for those irrational beliefs relative to the causes and reasons of things with which all peoples have been vexed in the early ages of their development. If we apply right reason to the problem, we shall perhaps discover that the bottom principle of superstition is found in the *dread and alarm* which primitive man must needs feel in the presence of the unexplained, and especially the portentous aspects of physical nature.

Superstition originates in a dread of nature.

It is the peculiarity of our system of worlds that the regularity, precision, and beneficence of its major movements are more easily discoverable than are the laws of its minor details and processes. The general motions and laws of the planets are as regular and uniform as the action of well-constructed machinery. A planet is more easily understood than a cloud. The same may be said of the major aspects of our world. The seasons come and go in an order which has never been disturbed since it was first observed by man. So also the succession of day and night. But when we descend into the particulars of meteorology we enter a domain where all appears to be irregularity, confusion, chaos.

Major aspects of nature more easily understood than minor.

To the present day science, with its keen insight into natural law and its firm faith in uniformity, has not been able to stretch out its scepter over the cloud land, the fog, the rain, the wind, the dew, or any of the details of the daily visible aspects of our planet. Yet it was with these very minutiæ of physical nature that the man of the morning

Science still unable to discover the laws of minor phenomena.

was involved and perplexed. His mind had not yet risen to a knowledge of the general laws by which universal nature is governed. His thought was constantly entangled with the small processes which were immediately under his observation. The apparent irregularity shown in these led him to think that caprice was the bottom principle of nature. With this idea came uncertainty; and with uncertainty came dread. With dread came superstition. Wherever fear is, there will be some effort to escape the thing feared—some form of superstitious avoidance of impending or possible evil.

So simple a fact as the night has been one of the leading causes of dread and consequent superstition. All the children of the world, plunged suddenly into the darkness, feel instinctively the sense of alarm. With a very little agitation they cry out with fright, and fly from they know not what. The darkness has in it a thousand specters, simply because the human eye can not reveal the realities of the abyss. Wherever there is a shadow there is a form. The imagination pictures it so. The primitive races were children. Many of the shadows which haunt the modern world rested then on all the landscape of life. Not only the night, but every variety of obscure circumstance which was noted by the old-time folks gave them a sense of dread; and they sought, as they struggled and groped under conditions which

Night and darkness engender superstitious beliefs.

HARUSPEX OFFICIATING.—Drawn by P. Beckert.

they did not understand, to form explanations and to devise processes by which safety might be secured to themselves and their descendants. In these conditions we may catch at least a glimpse of the general causes which promoted the growth of superstitious beliefs among all the peoples of antiquity, and which have prevented, to the present day, the entire clearing of the human mind from the influences of the ancient shadows.

The Romans the most superstitious of ancient peoples.

More than many other of the primitive peoples were the Romans the subjects of superstition. Their coarse, strong intellects did not easily discover in the natural world the suggestions of regularity, and gave up readily to the dominion of chance. There was no disposition in the race to frame a scientific explanation of the phenomena of nature; and hence there has been no true myth-making power displayed by any division of the Latin peoples. While the Greeks busied themselves with the creation of elaborate poetical schemes as the expression of their beliefs relative to the aspects and processess of the natural world, the Romans were unable even to imitate or understand what their neighbors had produced. Such beautiful myths as that of Daphne fleeing before her lover and lord around the world, but returning to watch at his dying couch—story of the Twilight and the Sun—could never be transferred to Italy. Such exquisite vines of the human imagination could not grow among the rough stone walls of Roman thought. The Albanian fathers produced some myths; but they were political legends, and not interpretations of nature. The stories of early Rome had a political significance, and it might be said that the Roman imagination and fancy never rose higher than the poetry of politics.

Roman superstition grew into augury and divination.

It therefore becomes a curious inquiry to consider the course which Roman superstition must needs take under the existing conditions. It grew not into poetical myths, but into augury and divination. Augury was preëminently a practical science. It was what may be called applied mythology. Had it not been practical, it would have been rejected by the prosaic genius of Rome. But because it professed to be an actuality, because it offered itself to the people in the guise of a benefit, they accepted it as such, and encouraged the study of the cult, just as they would have promoted a street improvement or a new method of tactics for the army. He who proposed to determine by established rules the meaning of certain things, to predict the issue of an event by signs which were visible to the eye and known to the understanding, was like any other man of business or officer of the state. He was good for something. But the Greek myth-maker and poet could hardly have been fitted into the structure of Rome. His place in the state could not have been discovered.

Roman myth and tradition wholly political.

If we examine the early legends and traditions of the Roman people we shall find them, without exception, to have related, as we have said, to the political structure of society. Every story of that ancient people had a tendency or application to the civil affairs of the city. The Sibylline books were offered to Tarquinius Priscus. The Tarquin was king. They were afterwards kept in the custody of the government. The she-wolf nourished two barbarian statesmen, and her image was afterwards set up in the capitol. It is all matter of fact. The legend never issues in any fanciful refinements, but is always coined into af-

fairs. A story that did not have relation to the business of the forum or the market died out as being unworthy of repetition. The interference of the deities even had a political and social significance.

When Juno's geese screamed out a warning from the capitol by night, it meant that the existing order was threatened by violence. Arouse, ye Romans, and preserve the existing order! Romulus became Quirinus, and was lifted on high from the midst of a political convention, turned into an insurrection and riot. Even the powers above were locked and welded with the structure of the state.

Whoever studies with care these aspects of Roman life, and whoever reflects upon the essential character of the race and the nature of the institutions—social, civil, political—which were contrived by the practical sense of this great people, will likely conclude that Roman genius must have been of remarkable intuitions and powers to have devised and constructed so great a system of government, so lasting a polity. At this point the inquirer is likely to run into the common error of supposing that nations consciously devise anything. Nations grow; and the history of peoples is a narrative of successive small adaptations to new facts and circumstances as they arise in society. As in the case of the individual, it is doubtful whether a people is ever at the time adequately conscious of what it is doing. The work of each day is a momentary adjustment to the changed or changing facts which have come into existence. To conceive of states creating a general scheme based on high and abstract principles, reaching to distant ages and peoples, is to conceive of what never is.

Races do not consciously devise their institutions.

THE CAPITOL, FROM THE PALATINE, RESTORED.

True, there are certain critical epochs where wide departures from the previous condition of a people are made with some degree of suddenness. But after all, the new policy issues from the old as the leaf from the twig, as the blossom from the bud. Rome did not consciously devise those great institutions which gave her unity and strength. Her skill lay in a succession of fortunate adaptations of means to ends through a series of emergencies; and the result of the tedious, experimental process was the Roman republic, such as it was in the last century before our era. The republic grew as the Roman people grew. While it was not consciously devised—constructed as the architect constructs the building—it was the product of a long succession of common-sense measures devised by a people whose practical abilities and political constructive skill were very great, and whose imaginative powers were like a certain class of birds which having wings are incapable of flight.

New features of race-life issue from the old by evolution.

> "You all did see, that on the *Lupercal*,
> I thrice presented him a kingly crown."

When Marcus Antonius thus offered the wreath, or diadem, or whatever it was, to great Julius, he was officiating as priest at the festival of the *Lupercalia*. This remarkable feast may be taken as an example of the splendid religious spectacles which were annually celebrated in Rome. The Romans had great skill in contriving and managing the spectacular part of their religion. Their festivals were many. They took delight in pouring forth at certain seasons of the year to celebrate the recurring festival which had become immemorial by usage. Lupercus was the god of purification and fecundity. Like the other Roman deities, he had his locus, his temple, his retinue of priests. The god himself was represented as wearing bits of goatskin, but otherwise half naked. The ceremonial was as old as Romulus, by whom the college of the Luperci was said to have been established.

Prevalence of religious festivals; the Lupercalia.

It was on the 15th of February that the annual ceremony was presented. The animals sacrificed were goats and dogs. When these had been slain at the altar, two Roman youths rushed forward, and the officiating priest, dipping the point of a sword into the blood of the victims, touched it upon the young men's foreheads. But the blood stains were immediately washed away by another priest, who used for that purpose a white wool sponge dipped in milk. Then the priests drank largely of wine to stimulate themselves for the street scene. They also ate of the goat's flesh. More particularly, they tore up the skins of the goats, fastening scraps of the same to their persons in imitation of the garb of Lupercus. They then took in their hands strips of the goatskins and ran into the streets, followed by the procession and the crowds. As they ran about they struck every one whom they could approach — especially the women—with the goathide whips. The stroke thus administered had the power to purify, and more particularly to ward off sterility from the fortunate ones who received the blow.

In what manner the annual ceremony was presented.

Had the traveler taken his station on the Via Portuensis, beyond the fifth milestone from Rome, he might have seen a grove called the *Lucus Deæ Diæ*, or the Grove of Dea Dia. And if his visit to this locality had been between the middle and the end of May, he should

Lucus Deæ Diæ and festival of the Arval Brothers.

STREET PAGEANT IN ROME—RETURNING FROM THE GAMES.—Brutus, Cassius, and Cæsar.

have witnessed a festival there which was as significant and poetical as anything of which the Roman race was capable. Like the other feasts, it was as old as the traditional age of Rome. The foster-mother of Romulus was said to have borne the name of Acca Laurentia. To her tradition assigned twelve sons. These were the original *Fratres Arvales*, or Field Brothers, who were the originals of the Arval Brotherhood. The latter, in the days of the republic, had been constituted a college of priests whose duty it was to offer annually a public sacrifice for the fertility of the fields. The members of the college were selected from the best Roman families, descendants from that old populus Romanus, the pride of which was perpetuated beyond the days of Cæsar. Even the boys who attended upon the Flamen and the Prætor of this college were the sons of senators whose parents must be still living.

When the great day of the ceremonial arrived, the Grove of Dea Dia must be purified with an animal sacrifice. First, two young pigs were offered, then a white cow was led to the altar, and finally a sheep. But the proper significance of the ceremonial was the bringing to the priests of samples of the old and the new grain from the fields, to be touched by them, to the end that fertility might abound and continue. The fruits of the earth were thus blessed, after which they were returned to the owners. There were many interesting ceremonies and prayers and consecrations in connection with the Arval festival, and the whole was more near to nature and more expressive of sympathies with the spirit in her bosom—more poetical, in brief—than almost any other part of the Roman religion.

Features and significance of the ceremonial.

Rome greatly surpassed Greece in the number, variety, and extent of her public celebrations; but these were by no means so profound in their signification, so elegant, so truly mythical, as were those of the Eastern people. The Roman ceremonial was a pageant, a tangible form, great, elaborate, spectacular. To maintain, perpetuate, and make honorable the religious festivals was one of the leading duties of the state. Many of the most distinguished officers had, as we have seen, religious duties to perform, but the difference between such functions as related to the national faith and those which belonged to civil society was not clearly drawn as it would be under the beliefs and practices of modern times.

Rome surpasses Greece in her public celebrations.

References to the public ceremonials, the street pageants, the incidents of the national worship, entered into all the literature of Rome. The orations delivered in the forum and the senate-house were touched in many parts with allusions to the rites of religion, and were interlarded with apostrophes to the gods. Latin poetry was pervaded with religious sentiment and phraseology. Even the cynical Horace, in one of the greatest of his smaller poems, when he describes his own hope of future fame, could do no better than to declare—

Literature infected with the prevailing superstitions.

> "I shall be sung to all posterity,
> Growing in praise, while on the sacred hill
> The Pontifex shall with the virgin be."

It is believed by those who have looked profoundly into the original conditions of Roman society that its religious element was deduced from the Sabines. It might well be confessed that the robbers of Romulus had little aptitude for religion; and their practices.

Bottom ideas of Roman religion derived from the Sabines.

as they are described in the traditions of primitive Rome, justify the assumption. The Sabine folk, however, seem to have had a more genuine bias toward a faith in the gods and a conformity to their will. Here again the composite nature of the original stock of the Roman people comes clearly into view. It is thought that the love of form and of ceremony, for which the Romans were ever noted, was derived from the Etruscans—that Lucerine element of population which was fused with the Ramnes and the Tities in the earliest days. There was thus a compounding of diverse elements in the new character which presently sprang from the fusion.

The chemistry of nature and of man.

In actual chemistry we notice certain wonderful effects arising in the moment of combination. That *aqua regia*, in which gold dissolves as snow in water, has its power in the moment of the union of the two acids of which it is composed. There is a human chemistry, an ethnic chemistry, under the laws of which, occult though they be, strong and great results are produced by the admixture and combination of elements. The Sabines gave the primitive impulse to the religious development of the Roman race. The Etruscans contributed the love of form, while the Latins proper added the love of might. It might be truthfully said that the very bottom instinct in the original stock of Latium was expressed in the dogma that might makes right. This is the one principle from which the Roman race never deviated. Whether consciously expressed in the theory of Roman life, or only tacitly adopted and exemplified in Roman practice, it was, nevertheless, the fundamental thought from which the principal activities of that great race were deduced.

CHAPTER LXVI.—LAW AND CONSTITUTION.

IN thus considering with some degree of care the various aspects of the strongest race of the ancient world, we pass from one part or power of society to another part without that break which would appear in discussing the organic parts of any other national life. The civil, the social, the religious, elements in the great fact called Rome lie so close to each other and are so compacted that the inquirer may turn from the one to the other with little difficulty. Roman law is so close alongside Roman religion, and the two are so much alike, that the discussion may here be turned without jar to the consideration of the principles and legal rules on which Roman society was founded.

Rome was the great lawmaking state of antiquity. In her capacity of legislator she achieved a success which, if it were judged by the criteria of fitness and durability, has never been equaled by any other political organization. And yet Roman law was a growth. It had in it the life of centuries drawn up by gradual accretions until the tree branched wide and overshadowed Europe. At the very bottom of the vast system lay a certain conceded family right called the *patria potestas*; that is, the prerogative of fatherhood. It was

Roman law arises out of the prerogative of fatherhood.

an absolute right belonging to the father to govern, control, and order his own household; positively, as to what might be done; negatively, as to what should not be done. It was an underived, natural right, inseparable from the state of fatherhood, belonging to it in the nature of things. It extended to the power of life and death over the children of the household, and it is likely that under the first customs the wife also was equally subject to the husband's will. The second original principle was that a man is entitled to the absolute ownership of such property as he has been able to gain by appropriation from nature or conquest from others. In these two respects the Roman citizen was at the beginning absolute and unlimited.

Upon these fundamental rights the Roman family was builded. When in process of time a state was planted and legislative processes began the old rights and customs were found deep-bedded in the practices of the people. The ancient folk law which had grown into form by custom was the concrete on which the first stones of the great constitutional structure of Rome were laid.

If now we take up the legislation, the jurisprudence, of the Roman race, we shall find that the elements of the same were drawn from three general sources which were in some sense assumed as the fountains wherefrom all legitimate political principles must flow. The first of these was called *Fas*, the second *Jus*, and the third *Boni Mores*. It is impossible, perhaps, to translate these words into the English language and to convey in our vernacular the true ideas of the original. Indeed, those ideas are difficult to determine and define. They were ideas peculiar to the Roman people, a part of their philosophy of things.

Roman jurisprudence based on Fas, Jus, and Boni Mores.

Since the passing away of the system of beliefs peculiar to antiquity, it has become impossible to revive in full force the ideas which underlay the ancient scheme of thought. It is often difficult for the modern mind to apprehend precisely what was meant by given terms and phraseology peculiar to the classical languages. But we will endeavor to transfer into our own tongue as much as practicable of the bottom ideas couched in the words above referred to.

1. *Fas.*—According to Roman belief there was over and above all men and gods, above all visible aspects of things and the invisible world of thought, a certain absolute condition to which they gave the name of fas. It was not exactly a condition or state, nor was it precisely an intelligence or person. Perhaps the Roman mind itself did not well apprehend the import and definitions of its own concept. The word fas is derived from the same root form with *fate*, and Fate was, in the mythology of the ancients, the supreme power under which all things are held. It might be said that fas was the edict of fate. It signified the decree or principle that issued from the absolute condition which was over all. Being a decree or principle thus proceeding from the highest power in the universe, it became with respect to men the *rule* or *law* of things, unchangeable, eternal.

Derivation and sense of fas.

The thought is somewhat dim to our apprehension, but to the Roman mind fas was the divine law viewed with respect to human life and conduct. Whatever, therefore, could be discovered of the true fas must be applied by formal expression to the regulation of the affairs of men. The mind might be turned to the discovery of fas and to its applica-

The principles of fas might be discovered by right reason.

tion. It would be the business of the philosopher, the jurist, to look intently at principles and to deduce them, as much as practicable, from that absolute condition and law which was stretched out over all men and all things. Thus it was that fas was said to be, and practically was, the prime source of the derivation of Roman law.

Since fas was a positive term; since all legislation must in the nature of things be largely made up of interdicts rather than injunctions; since it is by negation rather than precept that human conduct must be regulated in societies and governments, the negative side of fas must be discovered and defined. This was produced under the name of *Nefas*. Nefas did not mean the impossible, but simply that thing which was interdicted by the immutable principles of fas. Primarily, nefas would signify the thing that *might not be said;* but in its application, it was the thing that *might not be done*. So close was the principle that nefas implied the thing that *might not be thought*. In its full signification, therefore, it was the thing that might not be thought, might not be said, might not be done. Theoretically, nefas dived into the realm of motive, and was therefore an interdict against sin. It covered all things forbidden, whether in religion, in society, or in the state. The Roman laws, however, as must always be the case with the tangible rules of human conduct, did not presume to reach all cases of nefas, but only so much of human conduct as was made actual in deeds. In attempting to eliminate from their life and practices all things nefas, the Roman legislators were too wise to attempt to include the hidden motives of human conduct, and consequently limited their statutes *to overt acts*—a principle which has been transmitted to the legislation of modern times.

Theory of nefas, and its applications to conduct.

2. *Jus*.—The Roman mind discriminated between what we would call the divine order and law of the universe and the natural order and law of the world. It was in the former realm that fas was discovered; in the latter, jus. The exact signification of this word has been much discussed. By some it has been thought to signify a binding together, a joining or union of things by a principle. By others it has been interpreted as that which is regular, orderly, or fitting. The common derivation has been from the verb *jubeo*, which signifies "I order, or direct," as though it were jus habeo, that is, I hold, or have, jus. Whatever the etymology may be, jus signified natural right. It was not by any means what we would call the law of nature; for the law of nature is many times forceful, violent—we might say immoral, or *un*-just. But jus was never immoral, never *un*-just. It was the principle of immutable right discoverable by the human mind in the elementary conditions of things.

Jus the natural law and order of the world.

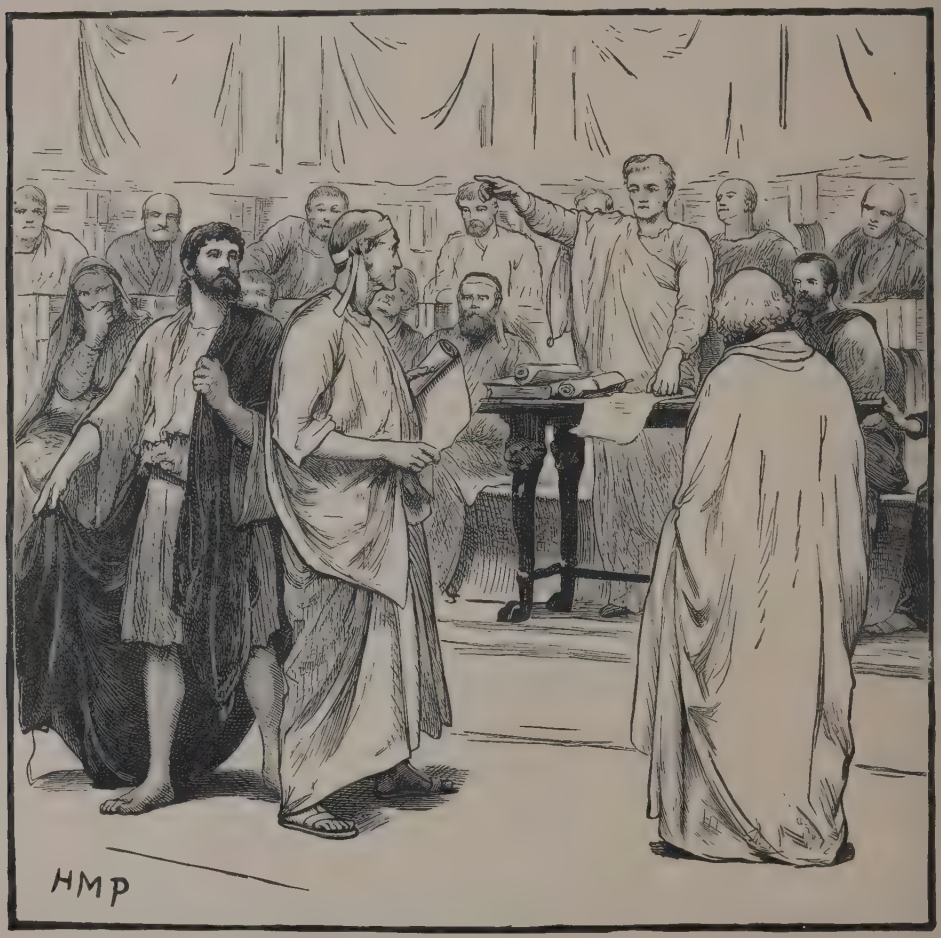
To the present day, among all peoples whose languages have been infected with Latin derivatives, the words *just*, *unjust*, *justice*, etc., have preserved a shadow of the ancient sense of jus. There is at the present time no appeal which man may make with more confidence and certainty than the appeal to justice. When he stands fast and declares that a thing is just, he unconsciously appeals to the very same idea which the Roman mind discovered before the republic was the republic. It is the idea of some immutable principle in all human conduct which may be used

Definition of justice; absoluteness of the principle.

as the standard of rectitude, the criterion of right, a standard from which there is no deviation, a rule under which there is no shadow of turning. Jus, in the Roman sense of the word, was as absolute a principle as fas, but it was differently derived. The one had its residence in the realm of human nature, generalized and perfected, the other had its origin in the depth of that absolute condition which was supposed to embrace all men and all things.

When the Roman race was sufficiently advanced to enter upon the formal work of legislation, it found that the rules of human conduct had already been determined, if not formally expressed, by what was called *Jus Moribus Constitutum;* that is, justice determined by usages.

Jus moribus constitutum and lex.



COURT SCENE IN OLD ROME.—Expulsion of the Sophists.

To this there was presently added formal enactment, lawmaking proper, which was called *Lex*. Of course, it was claimed that all lex, or formal law, was merely the declarative and authoritative enunciation of jus. So that henceforth it was customary to say that jus, or the whole moral law and

fundamental constitution of society, must be considered under the two forms of jus moribus constitutum and lex, that is, justice established by usage; and secondly, legislative enactment. Many of the old laws of Rome were never put into the form of lex. They were so well fixed in the public mind, so deeply imbedded with the traditions of the race, so universally accepted as the rules of conduct, that it would have been regarded as supererogatory or even absurd to reënact them. There was in this regard a close analogy between the jus moribus constitutum of Rome and the common law usages of England.

3. *Boni Mores.*—In the progress of human society many customs and usages which spring up among a people are presently rejected as unfitting and hurtful. Others, however, are attested and approved by experience. The latter survive and become with each generation more and more determinate as the habits of society. On the whole, the principle of advantage and disadvantage lies at the bottom of the natural selection which people exercise in the choice of their customs and usages. What is, on the whole, found to be advantageous is retained as the standard of conduct. There thus arises a difference between good morals and bad. We speak here of natural morals, and not of such as are derived from the formal precepts of religion.

Evolution of boni mores; distinction of good morals from bad.

After Rome had survived the struggles of her early life; after her manners and customs had been rectified by the experience of several centuries; after she found herself in possession of power and reason, she looked around among her usages and discovered what she chose to call boni mores; that is, sound morals—a certain kind of customs which had been approved and attested by the judgment and practice of the fathers. Of course, not all the morals of the people and the state could be said to be boni —good. Some, on the contrary, were bad. These were the residue of the old evil which is dormant in human life, struggling ever to assert itself in the habits of men. But the boni mores were the good residue, constituting an excellent standard or criterion by which current usage and new usage not yet established might be judged. There was thus a natural appeal to boni mores, or sound morality, in the jurisprudence of Rome.

Boni mores the source of the common law of Rome.

The reader will perceive, however, that it may be difficult to keep the foregoing three fountains of Roman law entirely distinct. He will reason that fas—the idea of fas, in the Roman mind —would be reflected into the affairs of life and become to a certain extent confused with jus. He will also perceive that in the primary determination of boni mores the principle of jus would have to be used as a criterion. No doubt there is much truth in these reflections; and, as a rule, it might be said that the Roman statute was a composite of fas, jus, and boni mores. A principle which had been originally derived from fas, so soon as it was enforced by the secular tribunals and had thus received the sanction of human authority, would become jus; and on the other side, principles of fas would be applied in early ages by the pontifical officers in the establishment of sound morals, and in course of time the boni mores thus established would in their turn be appealed to as a secondary fountain of law. None the less, the absolute fas, or the divine and universal law stretched out over nature and man,

Intermingling of fas, jus, and boni mores in Roman law.

unchangeable, eternal, was different from that jus, or principle, of absolute rectitude which had its throne in the bosom of human society, and still more different from that merely sound morality which had sprung up out of the ethical constitution of the race, and had been experimentally determined in its forms by the law of advantage and preference.

TRIAL SCENE IN A ROMAN COURT.

It is here assumed that the reader has some historical acquaintance with those divisions of the Roman population which were marked out with respect to law and lawmaking. He has been already informed in this work as to the nature and limitations of the familia. The gens has also been explained—the tribus, or threefold division of the old Romans made by Romulus. He will also remember how each tribus, or tribe, was divided into ten curiæ; how the century was formed, and how the curiæ, the tribus, and the century became the foundation of the three different kinds of Comitian assembly, namely, the Comitia Curiata, the Comitia Tributa, and the Comitia Centuriata. The latter assembly was composed of citizens only who were members of the curiæ, and were held as occasion required—not periodically. The Comitia Centuriata was instituted in the mythical times of Servius Tullius, the idea being to unite in that assembly, in one body, all the different sections of the Roman people. But as said above, a knowledge of these details is here presupposed.

Development of the three Comitian assemblies.

It is also assumed that the nature of the Roman senate is well apprehended, and of the consular government, which was the dominant feature of the official state under the republic. We here speak of Roman law, of the sources of its derivation, of the means of making it and applying it through the courts. We shall not, however, discuss again that part of

Roman law to be viewed in its sources; lawmaking; courts.

jurisprudence which related to the familia, to the institution of marriage, to such bottom principles as *patria potestas*, and the unwritten customs derived from jus, but rather those later and more formal proceedings by which Roman society was regulated.

The ager publicus and ager privatus of the Romans.

One of the earliest and most important questions to which the attention of the rising Roman people was called, was the ownership and distribution of land. It is not known certainly in what the original Roman freehold consisted. It has been supposed by some that Romulus himself, of whom the expression *jura dedit* is used, namely, "he gave *rights*," divided the little territory under his dominion into estates of a certain extent, assigning one estate to each member of the populus Romanus, and that this was the origin of absolute title under the Roman constitution. It is thought also that even at this early period a certain portion of the territory of Latium was set apart for the maintenance of the state, or, as we should say, a public domain, and that this was the foundation of the *ager publicus* of the Roman people. Against this was that other part of the lands of Latium to which the name *ager privatus*, or private lands, was applied; and this was the portion which the mythical kings were wont to let out in freeholds to the citizens.

Nature of the freeholds; enlargement of heredium.

The homestead in these primitive times was called the *heredium*. It consisted of two *jugers*, or about one and a fourth acres of land. Of this, the head of the household was the absolute owner, or more particularly, the household itself was the owner. For the heredium, as the name implies, was hereditary, passing by descent, after the father's death, to his family, his heirs. It is believed that in the times of the kingdom the gentes held certain portions of territory in their corporate capacity, and that these clan lands were limited in transmission to the familiæ of that particular gens. In course of time the extent of the freeholds was widened to two and a half, and then four and a half, jugers. There was thus fundamentally a derivation, under the Roman system, of land title from the king, or if not from the king, from the clan, or gens.

Comparative facility of land-ownership; the possessiones.

But not all titles were so derived. The patrician citizen might purchase a freehold directly with money, or he might exchange his heredium for the heredium of another. There was, indeed, less rigor with respect to land-ownership and the transfer of title than might have been expected in so ancient a society, and particularly in one so rigidly constituted as was that of Rome. Thus, for instance, one of the earliest modifications in the original system was that by which the paterfamilias extended his landownership. As with the growth of Roman society he became patronus as well as paterfamilias, as a clientage grew up around him, he must provide for his retinue; and this he did by a system of land-tenantage. He enlarged his estate and established his clients thereon. The patricians were allowed to extend their domain into the ager publicus, and such extensions of right were called *possessiones*, or possessions, rather than property. Here was another link which bound together public and private interest, and made all things one under the Roman constitution.

Cattle and slaves as personal property; other personalty.

If we pass to consider movable, that is personal, property, we shall find that its earliest forms were two in number —cattle and slaves. There is something rational in that concept which makes

living stock the most movable of movables; and the same may be said of human chattels, when such species of property is recognized. It has been claimed that outside of cattle—that is, domestic animals—and slaves there was no such thing as personal property, more particularly movable property, among the primitive Romans. But this is true only

LANDSCAPE OF THE AGER PUBLICUS OF ROME.—Drawn by John Fulleylove.

on the positive side. Negatively, the personal possessions of the early Roman might not be invaded by another. Negatively, the property was his against all claims of invasion, of fraud, of robbery. He could to this extent maintain his rights. But the positive right of transfer perhaps did not exist except in the case of things animate. The living properties might be driven from place to place with the change of the heredium, or transferred by sale, at the will of the possessor. It thus happened that the law was good for all kinds of property as against theft, robbery, or any sort of violence, but was not good absolutely for sale or transfer. Doubtless the bottom idea in this view of property was that personalty, with the exception of cattle and slaves, attached itself to the heredium rather than to the paterfamilias. There was a sense in which the paterfamilias owned the slaves and herds different from the sense in which he held his other personal property. The latter tended to a construction in unity with the heredium.

Close up to this land-holding and property-holding of the early Romans

we must consider their law of succession, the rule by which property was transmitted after the death of the owner. This was quite similar to the usage of modern times. There was, however, an exception between those of his children who were *in potestate*, under authority, and those who were *ex potestate*. This distinction was generally coïncident with the marriage or nonmarriage of the sons and daughters. The unmarried were in potestate. The married, especially the sons, were—or at least might be—ex potestate; that is, out of the power of the paterfamilias. If the married sons chose not to become independent, they could still remain in the familia of the father. But generally with the marriage of the son he was detached into a separate household, retaining, of course, his membership in the ancestral gens.

Law of succession; in potestate and ex potestate.

At the death of the paterfamilias his estate, both real and personal, descended to his widow and to his children in potestate, in common. That is, under the law, they shared the property among them equally. If there were no heirs, that is, if the paterfamilias, as sometimes happened, outlived the other members of his family[1] and died intestate, his property, both movables and immovables, reverted to the gens and became a gentile possession. When the plebeians who were admitted to citizenship in subsequent times died without heirs, their property could not well revert to a gens; for the plebeians were not gentiles. The Roman law, therefore, devised for this emergency a factitious class called *Agnates*, who inherited intestate plebeian property.

Reversional right to the gens; the Agnates.

The law of testament, or will, was certainly as old as the kingly period of Roman history. There were two methods of composing a last testament for the devise of property. The first was a formal statement and writing in the presence of the Comitia Centuriata, where the instrument was attested and recorded. The second was called *testamentum in procinctu factum;* that is, a will made before battle. The act contemplated some sudden emergency in which it was desirable for an owner of property to decide in what way it should be disposed of in case of fatal accident to himself. Such was the ancient usage. In course of time the curies became simply the depositaries of wills which had been legally attested by the peers of the testators. On the whole, the right of devising property by testament as thus practiced by the Roman race, even in the mythical ages, was not essentially different from the same right as recognized in the jurisprudence of modern nations.

Two kinds of testament; modern usage of Roman origin.

The early regularity and precision of the system of property-holding here delineated became a part of the strength of Rome long before the institution of the republic. Strangely enough, it was destined also to be a source of vexation and danger. Those ancient property rights had respect primarily to patricians only—to that true populus Romanus whose name, in association with that of the senate, constituted to the latest day the verbal legend and symbol of Roman power and authority. But already on the horizon of primitive Rome rose the tremendous shadow of plebeianism. How should the plebeians acquire land? Should they be admitted to freeholding in common with the patres? Should their rights of property in immovables

Property rights the dangerous reef in Roman history.

[1] In such cases a paterfamilias constituted in himself a whole familia.

and movables be of the same kind with those of the dominant order? Here was the rub. If the question had related merely to the admission of the plebeians to that indefinite and somewhat indeterminate fact called citizenship, the problem might have been more easy of solution than it was. It involved, however, the right to acquire land and to hold all properties by the same tenure and conditions as did the patricians of ancient Rome. When we consider the inextinguishable jealousy of property, the hostile attitude which it has immemorially assumed to all invasion and disturbance, we may perceive the fundamental difficulty with which the legislators of Rome were destined to be embarrassed through generations and centuries.

Evolution of the law of contract.

The law of contract was not developed at so early a date as were many other branches of Roman jurisprudence. It has been claimed that under the kingdom, at least to the time of Servius Tullius, no proper law of contract was in existence. But when we critically examine the condition of Roman society at the time we must conclude that, to a certain extent at any rate, such a law had appeared; for the simplest form of buying and selling—even barter—requires a contract between the parties. Wherever houses are occupied by others than the owners; wherever labor is exerted for other than one's self; wherever property is used by other than its possessor; wherever a common carrier is employed, there must be at least the rudiments of a law of contract.

We can, however, discern in Roman society of the early ages many reasons for the late appearance of such a law. We have seen how little addicted were the primitive Romans to commerce or to any intercourse other than war with foreign tribes. War under the dominion of civilization introduces many agreements and compacts between the parties, but in barbarous and half-barbarous ages it knows no law but violence. Again, the peculiar bottom organization of the Roman people into familiæ gave gradually local, or home, independence —made each familia more complete in itself, more able to supply its proper wants without appeal to others—than did any other system of social development. To this extent the anti-commercial instincts of the Roman race were encouraged and intensified rather than abated. The necessity for making contracts, for the discovery and establishment of rules whereby they should be made, was reduced to a minimum, and the law of contract lagged to a later age.

Late appearance of contract explained by social conditions.

If we inquire in what manner, therefore, in the absence of such a law, the engagements of Roman with Roman were sanctioned and made valid, we must appeal to the character of the race. From the earliest days this people had respect to a divine obligation which was impersonated under the name of *Fides*, or Faith. What fides required must be done. Whoever should violate his faith would subject himself to the frown of the pontifical officers. Aye, more; he would be subjected to such punishments as those officers might inflict, and to consequent disparagement among his fellows.

The appeal to Fides; usage of promittere dextram.

These forces tending to right conduct were felt in an unusual degree among the Romans. In order to signify their faith they invented the symbol of clasping right hands. This form of touching the person of another existed in the East, in connection with other ceremo-

nies of salutation; but the taking of the right hand in the sense of a pledge of good faith was a Roman usage, and obtained among the Roman people anciently a significance and universality which it had never borne before. The tract. It was believed by the Albanian fathers that Fides had her residence in the palm of the right hand, from which it followed that palm joined with palm was equivalent to the interchange of faith.

TUMULT IN THE FORUM AT ROME.

phrase *promittere dextram*,[1] to stretch out the right hand, was in everyday use in primitive Rome, and was made to take the place of a more formal law of con-

[1] In the first word of this phrase, in the form of *promissum*, we have the original of the English word "promise," the sense of which still preserves the idea of a pledge under good faith.

Another method of securing the fulfillment of those pledges which were made in early days at Rome was the pawning, or hypothecation, of some property to bind the parties to the fulfillment of their respective parts. After the engagement was fulfilled the prop-

Hypothecation a means of securing fulfillment of pledges.

erty so pledged must be returned to the original owner. While it was in pawn it did not in the full sense belong to either of the parties. For if it were stolen the person in whose hands it had been pledged could not be held responsible. If after fulfillment of the engagement the person holding should refuse to deliver to the person owning, there was in the earliest times no legal process to compel the recalcitrant to make restitution; but here again he was subject to the punishment of the pontifical officers, and was under disgrace for having violated confidence. It was thus, in the beginning of her career, that Rome bound her citizens by principles of morality rather than by principles of law to the performance of their pledges.

Still another means was used of enforcing good faith. The individual was allowed the right of redress. Certain limitations were laid upon this principle of action, and the right was of course ultimately taken away by law; but in early times the individual might enforce, if he could, the duty of fulfillment upon the unfaithful contractor. It will be seen that this personal compulsion of another to keep a pledge was only the positive side of that negative self-defense which is still allowed among all civilized nations. There are many strange things of this sort in the history of human jurisprudence. Originally the man might defend himself against the positive injury of another. He might stand his ground and ward off the violence with which he was menaced, but he might also take upon himself the duty of enforcing upon another whatever he had wrongfully refused to do with respect to himself. Scarcely any of the ancient peoples refused this right to the individual. But long since the right of personal compulsion on the positive side has been taken away in modern legislation, but the negative part, that is, self-defense proper, is still allowable under all civilized codes. True, it is hedged about with many limitations and exceptions; but the existence of such a right, acknowledged as valid long ages after the positive prerogative of enforcing right upon another has been taken away from the individual, is a striking example of the strange aspects into which human affairs may grow.

Personal compulsion permitted to enforce agreements.

What may be called the principle of vengeance was to a considerable degree admitted. As late as the days of Numa the kinsmen of a murdered man still had the right of destroying the murderer. But the laws of Numa provided that if the homicide were accidental, a ram's life might be substituted for the life of the man. There was a religious theory prevalent that it was the *duty* of kinsmen to destroy the life of him who had killed a member of their gens, else the *manes*, the soul, of him who was slain might not rest in peace. In the exercise of this right of vengeance we discover at a very early period the beginning of certain distinctions in modern law which are reckoned of prime importance in the administration of justice. There was the distinction between hot and cold blood. If the wronged husband should come upon the guilty wife and her paramour in *flagrante delicto* he might kill them both in passion. But if his wrath should cool by the lapse of some time, he might not then destroy the guilty, but must take the usual judicial course of punishment. In this fact we see the germ of that general tendency which will presently, under the auspices of this legal-minded race, substitute public for private law in all its jurisprudence.

Private avengement of injuries allowed with limitations.

The primitive Romans recognized three general forms of punishment for wrongdoing. It should be said in this connection, however, that there was in the early ages no clear discrimination between crime and sin—between an offense against the law of man and a violation of the will of the gods. Since the bottom principle of all Roman law was fas, and since fas was deducible from the eternal government of things, that is, from the absolute rule of all things and the will of the gods, a violation of human law seemed to be also a violation of the divine. What may be called vice, also, or the violation of the physical laws of life, was also confounded with the other kinds of infraction of law.

Three forms of punishment for wrongdoing recognized.

The names of the three general terms by which methods of punishment were distinguished pointed to the recognition of a divine element in all law. The first of these terms was *expiatio*, which may best be rendered by the word "satisfaction." The criminal in this case must *satisfy* for the injury which he has done. He must give an equivalent in some way, and thus expiate the wrong. The second term was *supplicium*, in which not only satisfaction was contemplated, but also the administration of punishment direct. In supplicium the idea of satisfaction was less prominent than the idea of punishment for the wrong. The word was derived from supplex, "one who prays." It signified originally the bending down of the body and of the will before the deities; but in the secondary sense it was the bending of the body to receive castigation for crime. The third term was *consecratio capitis;* that is, the "devotion of the life." The phrase *sacer esto*, that is, "let him be devoted, or given up," was the legal language employed in condemning a criminal by the comitia.

Nature of expiatio, supplicium, and consecratio capitis.

Under each of these general heads there was a great variety of punishment. That is, there were many legal methods of expiating injury, also may methods of administering supplicium, according to the kind of crime which had been committed. Capital punishment was by beheading or strangulation. It has been claimed by some that he to whom the phrase sacer esto had been legally applied was to be sacrificed to the infernal gods. But a very ancient phrase of the law declares *Nec fas eum immolari;* that is, it is not fas that the criminal should be *sacrificed*. Though he was put to death, it was not in the nature of an immolation.

Capital punishment; sacer esto was not sacrifice.

One of the reasons for the strong intermixture of moral and religious principles with the early jurisprudence of Rome was found in the complete supremacy of the paterfamilias over the familia, of which he was the head. Constituting as he did a personal court, he had only his own concept of fas and jus to guide him. Before the age of Servius Tullius the paterfamilias was a sort of judicial autocrat, who might administer justice over his familia even to the extent of excluding and interdicting the right of the state. He might in his capacity of judge take cognizance of every kind of crime. He might in his executive capacity administer every variety of punishment. He might inflict death, slavery, banishment from the gens, expulsion from the familia, imprisonment, chains, castigation, and indeed almost every kind of penal visitation known to the Roman law. It was one of the peculiarities of the early constitution of Roman society that there was no gen-

Explanation of mixture of moral principles with jurisprudence.

tile head; that is, no person or court standing in such relation to the gens as that occupied by the paterfamilias with respect to the familia. This circumstance augmented the prerogative of the paterfamilias. So great was his power, so far-reaching the extent of his jurisdiction, that to call him the feudal lord of primitive Rome would be to underestimate the variety and solid character of his prerogatives.

Evolution of legislation; the Twelve Tables.

In course of time the laws and usages of Old Rome, derived as we have seen from the Roman concept of immutable principles over and above human life, began to be put into the form of enactment. Legislation came. The Comitia of the Centuries was constituted, then the Comitia of the Tribes, and the Concilium Plebis. Before these bodies of the people in their various capacities Roman jurisprudence began to be formed. It was in the year 302 from the founding of the city that the compilation of the Twelve Tables was undertaken. In this we see again illustrated the intellectual dependence of the Roman people upon the Greeks. A commission was sent into the Greek cities of the south to investigate the condition of their constitutions and laws. After the return of the commissioners a body of ten patricians was appointed, over which Appius Claudius was president. The work of codification was completed within a year, but the decemvirate was continued for a period to attend to supplemental legislation. The result of the labors of this body was that great underlying legislative enactment of the Roman people, called the *Lex XII Tabularum*—The Law of the Twelve Tables. Though Rome had not begun her existence with a written constitution, though, indeed, she had prosecuted her way for centuries without any such a guide, she now possessed a formal code to which appeal might henceforth be made as to a standard of immutable right.

In the vicissitude of things the Twelve Tables perished; but not until after the lapse of several centuries. As late as the times of Cicero they were still in existence. Originally the laws were engraved, or more probably painted, on ten wooden tablets, which were set up in the forum, so that henceforth no man might plead ignorance of the laws of Rome. It was expected in subsequent times that the schoolboys of the state should commit these laws to memory. It was one of the standard exercises of the schools —another illustration of the strong legal character and bias of the Roman race.

Formality of Roman procedure; nature of the sacramentum.

In this brief outline of the legal constitution of Rome we can not, of course, enter into such details as would constitute the subject-matter of a formal historical essay. We may with propriety in the next place note some of the aspects or methods of legal action in the times of the kingdom and early republic. Great formality was one of the characteristics of whatever the Romans did. Particularly was this true of all subjects relative to jurisprudence. In legal action under the primitive laws one of the methods of procedure was for the parties to appear before the council, or the prætor, and there challenge each other as to any cause at issue between them. The ceremony was at once dramatic and religious in its aspects. A certain stake, or forfeit, called the *sacramentum*, was brought forth by each party and put into the hands of the officers. This was in the nature of a sacred pledge that each would abide by the decision of the tribunal to which appeal was now made. The preliminary having been attended to the question was remanded

to the judge, and it was his business to determine whose sacramentum, or pledge, had been offered in accordance with the principles of justice. But this superficial question involved a decision of the real issue between the parties concerning which the stake, or forfeit, had been pledged. When a decision was reached on the main question, he whose cause was reckoned just received back *his* sacramentum, while the stake of the defeated party was appropriated in the earlier times to religious uses, but afterwards to the revenues of the state.

Introductory processes before the tribunal.

A second method or "action of the law" was that the plaintiff should go before the prætor with a form of words thus: "I demand, O prætor, that thou appoint a judge or arbiter in my cause." This was the introductory process by which the cause of any one was open for judicial investigation. A third method had special reference to the question of debt, and consisted in a challenge made by the creditor to the debtor to go before a tribunal and *deny* that he was indebted so and so. The peculiarity of the process was that the challenge in this case required from the defendant a payment of one third more than the amount actually involved. This additional third was in the nature of a penalty for denial of the claim, if the same should be allowed.

Legal actions beginning with manus injectio.

A fourth manner of action had respect to the taking of the body of one who was a debtor or had confessed liability for debt. It was called legal action by *manus injectio;* that is, by the forcible laying on of the hand. Under this process the debtor was haled before the court in a very summary manner. In all of these ancient methods of judicial procedure we discover at least two circumstances of Roman character. The first was a certain formality and precision, advancing step by step in the ascertainment of civil issues; and the second was that severity of construction with respect to debt for which the legal procedure of all ancient nations is characterized.

A large part of the legal rights of a Roman citizen under the kingdom and

LICTOR WITH FASCES

the republic must be referred to the peculiar prerogative which a paterfamilias possessed under the name of manns. The manus was literally "the hand." It was the right hand of the house-father. We have seen that Fides was thought to reside in the palm of the right hand. Technically, the manus of the paterfamilias was his right over his wife. All of the general prerogatives which the Roman theory of citizenship conceded to him with respect to her was generalized under the name manus; but the right was enlarged from its primary signification to include all the secondary prerogatives which the house-father derived from his marriage relation and his position at the head of the familia. So that a great many of his privileges and powers as a citizen of Rome were summed

Meaning of manus, and rights proceeding therefrom.

up and expressed under the term manus; and when he came to the exercise of these rights in matters of private obligation or in public judicature, he simply appealed to his manus in justification of what he had done, was doing, or was about to do.

Another part of the body was taken metaphorically to express a legal capacity. The whole civil personality of a citizen was called his *caput;* that is, his head. The caput might mean much or little, according to the extent and variety of his family relations. The principal element in the prerogative so called was the right of the citizen as a paterfamilias. This included the several subordinate rights called manus, potestas, and mancipium. In proportion as the familia was extensive, the caput of the citizen was enlarged; and in those cases where the familia was reduced to a single person, as it frequently was, being in that case the paterfamilias himself and no more, his caput was correspondingly reduced. This is to say, throwing aside the metaphor, that the head rights, or personal rights, of a citizen under the Roman constitution were multifarious and extensive, or limited and simple, according to the expansion or contraction of the familia of which he was the head.

ARTISTIC TYPES AND COSTUMES.—Augustus and Livia.—From the *Gemma Augustia.*

Fiction of caput, or head rights of citizenship.

These old theories of Roman citizenship were found existent in society at the time when the Twelve Tables were compiled; and they were not much changed by the legislation of the commissioners. The makers of the Tables accepted those principles of legislation and jurisprudence which the experience of the race through several centuries had preserved as the best expressions of Roman civil life, altering and amending some, confirming others, and perhaps abolishing a few. Some incidental peculiarities of this first great piece of formal legislation would be interesting to the student of Roman law, such as that fiction by which the married woman who desired, for reasons of property, to retain her independence must periodically absent herself for three nights from her husband's house, and also the other fiction that twelve months of informal marriage should be required to make it formal. But we pass to other branches of the subject.

Twelve Tables a compilation; fiction of the married woman.

We have had occasion to remark upon the substantial connection between the familia and the gens. In no part of the system was this connection more beautifully displayed than in the matter of guardianship. The gens was the theoretical guardian of all the wards of the familiæ composing it. The Roman law classified the members of the familia of a patrician into several groups. The sons and daughters in pupilage, that is, the true minors, constituted one class, the unmarried daughters above pupilage were another class, while the sons unmarried, but still in potestate, were another. There were also likely to be in the familia lunatic, or imbecile, members. Others were perhaps helpless or infirm, while others would be reduced to de-

Classification of the members of the familia.

CORNELIA AND THE GRACCHI—TYPES.

pendence and wretchedness by prodigality or crime.

These were the classes which in case of the death of the head of the family must be provided for under authority. Guardianship was contemplated in all cases of the death of the paterfamilias. It appears that in the early ages of the republic, before the publication of the Twelve Tables, there was no extant right of the paterfamilias to nominate a guardian for the members of his family in case of his own decease. This right was claimed and exercised by the gens. It was the duty of the gens, in council assembled, to appoint one of its members as tutor, or curator, for the wards of any familia whose head might be taken away, and such tutor, or curator, was held accountable not to the familia, but to the gens, for the manner in which he exercised his trust. When it came, however, to the formation of the constitution expressed in the Twelve Tables, it was deemed advisable to recognize the right of a paterfamilias to nominate the guardian who should come into office in case of his death. A maxim of the law came in and said: "As any one has legislated for his own [familia] let it so be jus." Herein the state, under the auspices of the gens, took up and enforced the provisions made by the paterfamilias.

Right of paterfamilias in the matter of guardianship.

ROMAN CONSUL IN CURULE CHAIR.
From the original in British Museum.

A large part of the earlier constitutional provisions of Rome related to those obligations which the citizen might assume or which might be enforced upon him. Such obligations had respect for the most part to property. *Delictum*, or crime, might also demand the fulfillment of an obligation, as of a fine or some service of the offender. But generally, the duty to be fulfilled was that obligation, always strongly enforced and old as the beginnings of human society, of one man to pay another—the obligation of debt.

Debt the primeval obligation recognized by society.

One must needs be surprised to see how large a part of the civil history of the ancient peoples hangs about the fact of debt. It began with the borrowing of something to eat, and ended in slavery. It began with a thoughtless promise, hastily and inconsiderately made and attested by some easy formal-

Civil history of ancient nations turns about the question of debt.

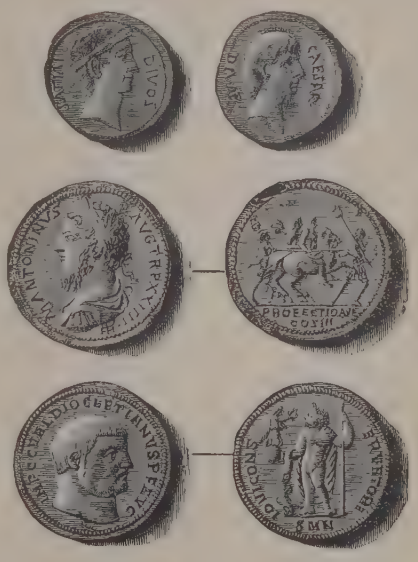
ity such as primitive society was wont to invent, and ended with a difficult fulfillment, as the debtor has always found. It began with the giving of one sum by the stronger to the weaker, and the exaction of a larger sum to be given by the weaker to the stronger. The student of history will readily recall the fact that a large part of those dangerous seditions and insurrections which the desperate under-class of the population in ancient cities were wont to make, had debt as their substantial and provoking cause.

Vexations and hardships of debt among the Romans.

In the case of Rome, this question was especially vexatious. The ever-growing class of plebeians, with the ever-increasing cry of want, tended to the incurring of debt. The assumption of obligations on the part of the poor which could hardly be fulfilled under the hard conditions of the age, the return of scanty years, the frequent recurrence of war, and other calamities pressed hard on the under-classes of society; and the principle of hypothecation became the only resource of the borrower. One has only to read the story of republican Rome, as told by Livy, in order to realize the full import, the deep cursedness and desperation of the plebeians under the ever-increasing burden of debt. In order to save themselves from starvation, the very veterans who had come home from victorious war with the Sabines or the Samnites had to hypothecate first their homes and then *themselves!* It was utter ruin by two leaps down the precipice. The first platform on which the plebeian debtor landed was bankruptcy, and the second slavery.

In the old days, before the introduction of coinage, borrowing had already become prevalent. Under such circumstances the property was transferred and the debt incurred in kind. It was what may be called indebtedness by barter. In this case the process consisted in an application to the property holder for a loan of what was necessary to the borrower. When the amount and the terms of the loan had been agreed upon a certain formality was necessary. It was called the *Nexum*, a word signifying "a binding together." Scales were brought, and five witnesses were called

Primitive borrowing; introduction of coin and the balance.



COINS OF THE REPUBLIC AND THE EMPIRE.

to represent the state. It was a public process, and the state was bound to enforce the fulfillment of the obligation. The property was weighed or measured out, and the borrower became bound for payment. When the coinage of bronze money came in, that medium was used between the borrower and the lender after the manner of modern times. Then the formula was changed, and the method of the contract was defined as being *per æs et libram;* that is, "by money and the balance." The parties came face to face, and the lender said: "Whereas,

with this coin and these copper scales I have given thee a thousand [or so many] *asses*, be thou, therefore, bound by the law of the *nexum* to repay them to me a year [or whatever the time] hence." Thereafter the borrower received his coin, and was legally bound.

It is impossible for us here to follow out this line of explication through the various details and developments of Roman custom and law. We are aiming to cite so much only as is necessary to exemplify the spirit of lawmaking and application under the usage of the Romans. It would be of great interest to extend and amplify the discussion; but the pressure of other subjects forbids what inclination and interest might suggest. Rome was preëminently the lawmaking state of the ancient world, and her historical relations with the nations of the West have been such as to transmit her usage and principles of jurisprudence to the most civilized states of modern times.

Rome became the lawmaking state of the world.

If we should set into one group all the great peoples who now employ, in whole or in part, the constitution and jurisprudence of Rome, and set over against them all those other states which have not been affected in their constitutional structure by the direct incorporation therewith of the constitutions and statutes adopted and perpetuated by the senate and the Roman people, we should instantly discover that the former group virtually includes the civilized nations of the world, while the latter group represents only its barbarous or half-developed peoples. This great difference, to be sure, is not to be referred to the existence in the one case and the absence in the other of the constitution and the laws of Rome considered as a cause or a drawback to the progress of civilization, but rather to the fact that the enlightened nations of modern times have found in the legislation and jurisprudence of Rome abundant cause for admiring and adopting, in whole or in part, that vast system by which the unity was preserved and the political purposes expressed of that nation which achieved the greatest and most permanent political success known thus far in the annals of mankind.

All civilized peoples under the influence of Roman law.

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